BACONIANA.

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"LET'S TALK OF GRAVES, OF WORMS, OF EPITAPHS."

(*Richard II.* iii. 2.)

READERS who have perused the pages of "Francis Bacon and His Secret Society" may recall these words: "When a Rosicrucian died, he was to be quietly and unostentatiously buried. His grave was either to be left without a tombstone, or if his friends chose to erect a monument in his honour, the inscription upon it was to be ambiguous." This is a statement which anyone may do something towards fortifying or confuting. The following are a few observations tending to strengthen the proposition, which, however, needs much inquiry.

It is our present object to draw attention to some amongst the many distinguished NAMES — friends or associates of Francis and Anthony Bacon, and who, according to the common usage of the time, would surely have been honoured with a monument, or a laudatory inscription, yet who were buried without any such tribute or memorial. Space will not admit of many particulars, but our aim is not to exhaust, but to air the subject, and to encourage a spirit of investigation and inquiry.

Go to Westminster Abbey, and there you may see the grave of Ben Jonson—said, with great probability, to have been one of Francis Bacon's "able pens," and who certainly wrote (or *copied?*) the *Apologie for Bartholomew Fair*, under the roof of my lord St. Albans.

On Ben Jonson's grave there was not so much as his NAME or the

date of his death; but the words "O RARE BEN JONSON" in a stone, near, but not over, the place of his interment, are said to have been cut by a mason, for eighteen-pence, paid him by a passer-by.

In "Poet's Corner" is a marble monument to Jonson, finely executed by Rysbrack. A writer in the *Athenæum* has pointed out that the bust shows a sculptural error of the kind referred to in the following verses, taken from "*A Choice Collection of Poetry*, most carefully prepared from original MSS.," by Joseph Yarrow, Comedian, York. 1738.

On Ben Jonson's Bust with the Buttons on the Wrong Side.

O rare Ben Jonson! What—a turn-coat grown?
Thou ne'er wore such till thou wast clad in stone.
When time thy coat, thy only coat impairs,
Thou'lt find a patron in an hundred years.
Let not then this mistake disturb thy sprite,
Another age shall set thy buttons right!*

It must be allowed that this "epitaph," whoever made it, is *ambiguous*, and that it admits of an interpretation similar to that on the monumental tablet of Drayton, of which we have to speak. The lines seem to allude to the period of 100 years, when, according to the founder's intentions, the Rosicross secrets were to be revealed. At the end of that "age" Bacon intended, we think, to "pace forth," as he declares in the Sonnet.

On entering Westminster Abbey by the little door at Poet's Corner, the monumental tablet to *Michael Drayton* is to the right hand, above the observer's head. It has the bust of Drayton in the symbolic *ellipse*, and is painted *black* relieved with *gold*—the Rosicrucian emblems of light out of darkness. Beneath a short record of the dates of Drayton's birth and death are ambiguous verses. These exhort the marble to let its readers know what they owe, *not*, we observe, to Drayton, but to his NAME. For when time should have ruined the monument, the NAME of Drayton shall live in the fame of him who is the cause of the monument's erection.

These verses are inscribed in Roman capitals of two sizes, such as, according to Malone, were on the original stone over Shakspere's grave. The arrangement in either case is unaccountable except on

* See Cassell's *Old and New London*, iii. 425-6.

the assumption that these epitaphs are ingenious cipher records, constructed, perhaps, with some system in accordance with Bacon's biliteral alphabet. The argument about the rough or illiterate inscription cut by a country mason, which has passed as satisfactory with regard to Shakspere's grave at Stratford, cannot be entertained with regard to a monument in Poet's Corner.

MICHAEL DRAITON ESQRE. A MEMORABLE POET OF THE AGE,
EXCHANGED HIS LAVRELL FOR A CROWNE OF GLORYE AO: 1631,
DOE PIOUS MARBLE LET THY READERS KNOWE
WHAT THEY AND WHAT THEIR CHILDREN OWE
TO DRAITON'S NAME, WHOSE SACRED DUST
WE RECOMMEND VNTO THY TRUST.
PROTECT HIS MEM'RY, AND PRESERVE HIS STORYE:
REMAINE A LASTING MONUMENT OF HIS GLORYE;
AND WHEN THY RUINES SHALL DICLAIME
TO BE THE TREASURER OF HIS NAME;
HIS NAME, THAT CANOT FADE, SHALL BE
AN EVERLASTING MONUMENT TO THEE.

At Christ Church, Oxford, is the mural tablet erected to *Robert Burton*, the supposed author of the *Anatomy of Melancholy*. Neither the name of the author nor of the book are in the inscription, which, adopting the pseudonymn on the title-page of the *Anatomy*, declares the tablet to be in memory of "Democritus junior . . . who passed his life in the contemplation of death and melancholy." The tablet resembles that of Drayton with its portrait-bust in an ellipse, and the whole painted gold upon black. In the left-hand upper corner is a small horoscope resembling that which Mr. Waite represents at the beginning of his life of Joseph Heydon, the feigned author of Bacon's first edition of *The New Atlantis*. It would be well if anyone who understands the reading of such things would compare and explain these horoscopes. On the horoscope, written very small, are the letters "R. B."

The grave of Shakspere, and its very unsatisfactory and unpoetic inscription, are too well known to require notice. The verses on the base of the life-sized "effigy" (as Halliwell Phillips well designates it) have had less attention bestowed upon them. "It is not likely,"

he says, "that these verses were composed either by a Stratfordian, or by any one acquainted with their destined position, for otherwise the writer would hardly have spoken of Death having placed *Shakespeare* 'within this monument.'* However that may be, it is certain that they must have been inscribed with the full sanction of his eldest daughter,"—and the monument was alluded to by Leonard Digges as being there in 1623.

That is enough for us: it was contrived and erected in the life of Bacon, who seems about that time to have been busy over such things, and to have lately restored the tomb of Good Duke Humphry at St. Albans, adding in Latin a very Baconian inscription, which the guide-book attributes vaguely to "The Schoolmaster." But to return. Here is Shakspere's *later* inscription, which, we submit, is as "ambiguous" as any:—

JUDICIO PYLIUM, GENIO SOCRATEM, ARTE MARONEM,
TERRA TEGIT, POPULUS MÆRET, OLYMPUS HABET.

STAY PASSENGER, WHY GOEST THOU SO FAST,
READ, IF THOU CAN'ST, WHOM ENVIOUS DEATH HATH PLAST
WITHIN THIS MONUMENT, SHAKSPEARE, WITH WHOME
QUICK NATURE DIDE; WHOSE NAME DOTH DECK YS TOMBE
FAR MORE THAN COST; SITH ALL YT. HE HATH WRITT
LEAVES LIVING ART BUT PAGE TO SERVE HIS WITT.

OBIT ANO DOI. 1616. ÆTATIS 53. DIE 23. A.P.

Still we see that it is the NAME which is the important point, *not the man*, not his character, not his works. The sleeper in the tomb lives in the name of another.

In Poet's Corner the name is not forgotten; a grand modern monument is erected bearing a full-sized statue of the supposed poet, attitudinising, and in no respect resembling the "effigy" on the monument at Stratford. The face has evidently been modelled from some of the refined and truly "*counterfeit* presentments," which so closely approach to authentic portraits of Bacon. But we pass on again.

Here is the monument to *John Dryden*, erected by Sheffield, Duke

* It is against the wall to the north of the chancel. See inscription on gravestone, in BACONIANA, Aug., 1893.

of Buckingham, who refused to help Dryden in his life-time, thereby giving point to the satirical assertion of Pope that

> "He helped to bury whom he helped to starve."

Again it seems as if it were the name rather than the man to whom the monument is dedicated. Bishop Atterbury, our authority informs us, corresponded with Pope about a proposed epitaph. Pope, it seems, intended *only to fix Dryden's name beneath a bust*, but Atterbury suggested the addition of these lines:—

> "This Sheffield raised, to Dryden's ashes just;
> Here fix'd his NAME and there his laurel'd bust.
> What else the Muse in marble might express
> Is known already; praise would make him less."

Or thus:—

> "More needs not; where acknowledged merits reign
> Praise is impertinent, and censure vain."

Such verses as these are not very instructive, are they? After reading them we are no wiser than before as to the history of their supposed subject, or his works; yet, collectively, we find them interesting and profitable.

Abraham Cowley, says John Evelyn, was buried in Westminster Abbey, "next to Geoffrey Chaucer, and near Spenser." An honourable resting-place; yet *neither Cowley nor Spenser had any monument or inscription.* We should have expected, at least, to read of how indefatigably Cowley travelled, and ciphered, and deciphered for the king and queen during the best years of his life.

Sir Philip Sidney, the noble, graceful, valiant, and much beloved *preux chevalier*, though killed in battle in the Netherlands, was brought home to be buried in his own country. "So general the lamentation at his funerals, that a face thereat might bee sooner found without eyes, than without tears. It was accounted a sin for any gentleman of qualitie, for many months after, to appear at court or city in any light and gaudy apparel: and, though a private subject, such solemnities were performed at his interment for the qualitie and multitude of mourners, that few princes in Christendom have exceeded, if any equalled, the sad magnificence thereof."

And after all this, Sir Philip Sidney was left *without a monument.*

Thus continues "Philophilipros," writer of the first edition of the "Life" preceding Arcadia (afterwards signed by William Camden): "No monument hath since been erected over him, . . . he is his own monument, whose memorie is eternized in his writings."

Pray compare this with "*Ben Jonson's*" lines to "*Shakespeare.*"—(*Underwood's xii.*).

> "Soul of the age!
> The applause, delight and wonder of our stage!
> My SHAKESPEARE rise! I will not lodge thee by
> Chaucer, or Spenser, or bid Beaumont lie
> A little further off to make thee room;
> Thou art a monument without a tomb,
> And art *still alive*, while thy book doth live
> And we have wits to read, and praise to give," &c.

We see that, as Evelyn speaks of honourably interring "Cowley" next to *Chaucer and Spenser*, so "Jonson" proposes that if *Shakespeare* required a tomb, *Chaucer, and Spenser, and Beaumont* would have to move further off to give him room.

"Honourable" as it might be for Cowley to lie beside Spenser, this yet "greater poet" whose remains were carried in state from King-street to Westminster Abbey, "followed by the great, the titled, and the powerful, who came to do honour to his memory, and to shower laurels on his grave"—died in penury, and *no monument or inscription* marks his grave.

John Beaumont also lies in Poet's Corner, without a monument. "Here it is *muniments, not monuments* of praise which are desired for the poems of the author, secured by the author's name." The NAME again! Not the man is to be famous, but the name of the author and his poems. Surely again this is ambiguous. And note the *quibble*, or punning jest which was such a trick of speech with Francis Bacon that he could hardly ever "pass it by."

Beaumont's friend and collaborator, *Francis Fletcher*, was one of "the happy triumvirate"* of his age, the other two being Shakespeare and Jonson. *No monument* to him in the church of St. Saviour's, Southwark, where he was buried.

In the registers of that same beautiful church is this entry,

* So termed by Edward Phillips, the nephew of Milton.

"*Buried Philip Massinger, a stranger.*" This seems to be the only record of the death and burial of this "distinguished poet."

Francis Bacon's dear young friend, *George Herbert*, is buried before the altar of the church at Bemerton (where for years he was the beloved pastor), under a plain stone slab, without inscription of any kind.

John Selden, another devoted friend of Francis Bacon, who made him one of three trustees for the disposal of his enormous mass of manuscripts (many of which he seems to have edited and fathered), lies buried in the Temple Church. We have it on the authority of Aubrey that his grave was dug ten feet deep, walled up with marble, covered by a slab with these words: *Hic jacet Johannis Seldeni qui obiit 30 die Novembris, 1654.* This short record of the date of his death was arched over with brick, *and built upon.*

We expect to find something similar with regard to the grave of the "*deere brother*," "*Antonie my comforte*," whose death in 1603 was such a grievous loss to Francis. At present we have no trace or record either of his grave or of the place of his death.

Edward Alleyn, the ostensible founder of Dulwich College (in which Francis Bacon appears to have taken much interest) was buried in the College Chapel, November 27th, 1626. *A marble slab, without record of any kind, covered the grave.* The present inscription is modern.

John Marston was buried in the Temple Church under a stone which had on it the very Rosicrucian motto, "*Oblivione Sacrum.*"

Joseph Mede, the "pious and profoundly learned" of "as many discourses on several texts of Scripture as there are days in the year," "a curious florist, an accurate herbalist, thoroughly versed in the Book of Nature, and *not unseen in any kind of ingenuous knowledges*," lived 52 years, and spent two-thirds of his time in Christ's College, Cambridge, "to which whilst he lived he was so great and distinguished an ornament, and which, now that he is dead, is his monument, . . . his memory being embalmed with his vertues (of more force to preserve his name than the spices which the Hebrews or Egyptians used for the embalming of bodies), and having left his most learned writings as his truest picture and best history" ("Life," xxxiv.).

Samuel Butler was buried "according to his own appointment in the churchyard of Covent Garden, in the north part next the church at the east end. . . . About 25 of his old acquaintances were at his funeral, I myself being one," says Aubrey. Yet the "old acquaintances" are not agreed as to whether Butler's grave is east or west of the north wall. *No monument or inscription was at the time placed over the grave.* "Subsequently some person unknown to fame erected a monument to the memory of the poet, but apparently no trace of it now remains." *

Richard Baxter, the celebrated Nonconformist minister whose immense and varied learning is said to have been attested by 147 works on distinct subjects, died 1691, and was buried in Christ Church, Newgate-street. On his grave are these words only, "The Saint's Rest."

George Wither, the reputed author of the "Hallelujah, or Britain's Second Remembrancer," hymns "of rare and singular merit,† died 1667. Buried in the Savoy Church, Strand. *No monument.*

George Sandys, the distinguished traveller, amongst whose works are "a translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and metrical paraphrases of various parts of Scripture," died in 1647. *No monument.* A marble tablet was, 200 years after his death, erected to his memory.

Sir William Petty, who "at the age of 15 had obtained the Latin, Greek, and French languages," at 20 years of age had gotten as much mathematics as any of his age was known to have had," by turns pedlar, sailor, physician, professor of anatomy, an eminent writer on political economy, and with Sir Kenelm Digby, Matthew Wren, Boyle, Dryden, and Barrow, made a Fellow of the Royal Society, a man distinguished by his liberality and munificence, died 1687, and was buried in Romsey Church. A plain slab cut by an illiterate workman, with the words, "*Here layes Sir William Petty*," covers his tomb.

The youthful student, *Thomas Hobbes*, with whom Bacon in his latter years is said to have traced the alley up and down discoursing on philosophical subjects, and to whom are attributed the works "*De Cive*," "Leviathan," "*De Corpore Politico*," "*De Libertate*,

* "London," by J. H. Jesse.

† Introduction by E. Farr, to Edition of 1857; publisher, J. R. Smith.

Necessitate, et Casu," "Human Nature," and a history of the civil war, metrical translations also of the Iliad and the Odyssey, died 1679, and is buried at Magdalen College, Oxford. Again, *no epitaph.* Hobbes, we think, like certain others of Bacon's sons of science, though they edited some of his works and imbibed many of his ideas and theories, went very far astray in their own conceits, and created a school of thought and doctrine which it would have grieved the heart of Bacon to recognise as the outcome of his own teaching. "Thought is free," but with the man lies the choice as to whither his free thought shall wing its way.

The epitaph to Sir W. Davenant is a mere echo of the ejaculation on Ben Jonson's stone—"*O rare Sir William Davenant.*" It falls flat, and satisfies us that Sir W. D.'s claim to fame as a poet is feeble. He was buried in the grave vacated by May, his former rival for the laureateship. But it is noteworthy that both Langbaine and Wood comment upon the fact that the laureate wreath which by the law of heraldry appertaineth to him, *was wanting from his coffin*, which Sir John Denham says was the handsomest he ever saw. Why was the law of heraldry thus broken? Can it be that the law of truth was the stronger, and that the laureate's wreath could not be placed upon the coffin of a feigned poet?

Thomas Heywood is said to have written 120—some say 240—plays, of which only 20 are extant as his. The lives of *Merlin*, of Queen Elizabeth, and of *The Nine Worthies*, are also credited to him. Nevertheless, with Lily, Middleton, and the still more "shadowy author," Webster, Heywood seems to have vanished into thin air. They "leave not a wrack behind," not so much as the dates of their birth and death.

Of *Peele*, *Greene*, *Kidd*, and *Marlowe*, little more is known. The latter "distinguished English dramatist," and translator of Ovid, Lucan, other Latin authors, died in a disgraceful brawl, and this entry is in the register at St. Saviour's, Southwark: "*Christopher Marlowe, slaine by Francis Archer.*"

Many more names, both in England and abroad, might be added to this list, but our paper is already too long, and for the present we leave the research to observers and studious readers. Let it be inquired with Polonius, "What is the cause of this effect? Or

rather let us say, of this defect, for this effect defective comes by cause."

Was *the cause*, that these men did not really write the works popularly attributed to them, fathered by them, and published under their names? Did some of them play the part of Mecenas to the youthful Francis, whilst others in his palmy days served him as professional amanuenses and shorthand writers? If these brief notes should have aroused interest in the matter, we shall be glad, for the study is of great curiosity and profit. But should anyone be tempted hastily to conclude that there is no need to inquire, and that monuments, epitaphs, and eulogistic records "were not the fashion" in the days of Elizabeth, James, and Charles I., we request him to spend a day or two in Westminster Abbey or St. Albans, and, if that be not sufficient, to make a tour, note-book and pencil in hand, amongst the cathedrals and old churches of England and the continent.

INQUIRER.

BACON'S STYLE.

IT becomes daily of more urgent necessity that we should possess some means of testing and distinguishing between works which are Bacon's, and those which are distinctly not by him. In attempting to make a standard or gauge, we must be very careful and definite, giving no loophole for evasion; for the troublesome part of criticism is to be found not so much in its bite or its sting, as in its versatility and slipperiness. Arguments and evidence appealed to by the critic as all-convincing and satisfactory when they suit his purpose, are repudiated as futile or absurd when they disturb his theories, and clash with his private opinions. Need we recall how, in the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy, rules of comparative philology, and tests for distinguishing between the styles of other authors have been disregarded or scouted when applied to show that Francis Bacon wrote the *Shakespeare* Plays.*

* Some think that Anthony Bacon sketched the plot or plan of certain plays, and that Francis worked upon these slight outlines.

Baconians hold their thesis in this matter to be proved by all established methods of probation and criticism, and we might rest content were the authorship of the *Shakespeare* plays the only matter in question. But that is only part of a vast whole, and much more remains behind. The same rules or principles, the same analysis, the application of the same admitted principles of criticism, which identify

(*a.*) The Author of the Sonnets with the Author of the Plays.

(*b.*) The Author of both plays and Sonnets with Francis Bacon, prove as conclusively a third point, and identify

(*c.*) Francis Bacon, with other works less generally attributed to him, and which bear upon their title-pages the names of other authors.

The canon of criticism must be rejected altogether, or else taken with its consequences. But, if rejected, then all Shakesperian criticism requires to be re-written. Such a task is, however, impossible, for there is no other acceptable canon.

Then follows the question—*What is proof?*—or Is it possible to prove by internal evidence the authorship of any given work? Bacon himself thought it possible. When Queen Elizabeth, misdoubting of treason in a certain pamphlet, desired that the accredited writer should be "racked to produce his author," Bacon exclaimed, "Nay, madam, rack not his body—*rack his style.* Give him paper and pens, with help of books; bid him carry on his tale. By comparing the two parts, I will tell you if he be the true man."*

Bacon, therefore knew (who better?) that it *is* possible so to rack or analyse a style so as to make detection sure. No two men write alike, because their minds, aims, capabilities, and knowledge are not alike; and since the experience of 300 years fails to upset his conclusions, may we not attempt to make some permanent and trustworthy standard by which to gauge, weigh, and fairly distinguish between the many and divers "points of style" upon which critical judgment has to be exercised?

Before offering a few suggestions for the construction of such a test, or standard measure as seems desirable, we would point out some considerations which should not be disregarded.

* Hepworth Dixon's "Story of Bacon's Life," p. 157.

(1.) Little is known about Anthony, Francis Bacon's "dearest brother," "my comforte,"—"a gentleman," says Dr. Rawley, "equal to him in height of wit, though inferior to him in the endowments of learning and knowledge."* Anthony, we know, was esteemed abroad as a great poet;† but where are his works? Possibly, the poems and plays which he wrote in "height of wit," may have been shaped and hammered again on the anvil of Francis, or "stuffed" and adorned with the learning, and the beauties of language with which they are so richly endowed. Dr. Rawley gives a hint of the method by which the more gifted brother revised the works of other authors. "I have often observed, and so have other men of great account, that if he had occasion to repeat another man's words after him, he had a use and faculty to dress them in better vestments and apparel than they had before; so that the author should find his own speech much amended, and yet the substance of it still retained; as if it had been natural to him to use good forms. As Ovid spake of his faculty of versifying, "*et quod tentabam scribere, versus erat.*"

A hint surely that Francis was a born poet. "He lisp'd in verses, and the verses came."

(2.) Anthony must have followed the method pursued by Francis, writing secretly, and making over his works to others, to be published under their names, and for ever renounced by himself. As one of the "Invisible Brotherhood," writing only for the good of others, *he* also must have become "a concealed poet."‡ The brothers, "twins in mind, though not in years," would exhibit this likeness of mind in their ideas and language; yet we should not seek for Anthony in books of solid *learning* and *gravity*.

(3.) We must lay to heart Bacon's saying about the "diversities of methods in delivery of knowledge"—that "*the method (or style) used, should be according to the subject-matter which is handled.*" Thus, although any given book when "racked" and analysed, may justly be

* Dr. Rawley's *Life of Bacon*.

† See the Tennison collection of Anthony Bacon's letters, Lambeth.

‡ The manifestos and other undoubted remains of Rosicrucian literature exhibit them precisely in this light, namely, as a teaching fraternity, whose method in the attempted diffusion of knowledge was secret and anonymous. (A. E. Waite.)

required to show that it contains certain ingredients or component parts, we must not expect every work (on whatsoever subject, and addressed to, or aimed at whatsoever class, age, or grade) to exhibit the same style; for *the style is according to the subject-matter:* and yet the Master, though veiled, will always be in some way visible to the discerning.

Is it not true to say that this judgment, according to style was, as far as England is concerned, originated by Bacon himself? When the classical literature began to be intelligently studied abroad at the period of the Renaissance, the distinction of style was taken as a criterion for differentiating genius from spurious works, as, *e.g.*, in the case of Aristotle, but there does not seem to have been any instance of its use in England before Bacon's time.

That there are diversities of methods in delivery, but that the subject-matter controls the style, is a doctrine frequently illustrated in the plays, where we read of philosophers who writ *the style of the gods;* of the poet who will write a Sonnet "*in a high style*" in praise of his mistresses' beauty.† The style of Armado is so "*high*," that Biron declares it "will give us cause to climb in the merriness,"‡ and farther on we find Boyet detecting the style of Armado in his highflown letter to the princess. In another play we find the exiled duke comforting himself and his "co-mates" with reflections on the pleasures of a country life and reading his abridged "Essay of Adversity." His attendant, Amiens, comments upon his master's choice of *style* for his subject-matter.

> "Happy is your grace
> That can *translate* the stubbornness of fortune
> *Into so quiet, and so sweet a style.*"‖

But when the Shepherdess, Phebe, makes up her mind to be bitter with her supposed lover, the "Ethiop words" which she inserts in her letter, make Rosalind doubt that any woman could "invent this letter." "Why, 'tis *a boisterous and a cruel style, a style for challengers.*"¶ In a like manner, Henry IV. detects the change in his uncle, the Duke of Burgundy, and "some alteration in good-will," by the *style* of his letter.

* Much Ado, v. 1, 37. † Ib. v. 2, 6. ‡ L. l. l. i. 2, 197. § *Ib.* iv. 2, 91.
‖ Asy. l. ii. 20. ¶ *Ib.* iv. 3, 31.

"What means his grace, that he hath *changed his style?*
No more but plain and bluntly—'To the King!'
Hath he forgot, he is his sovereign?
Or doth this churlish superscription
Pretend some alteration in good-will?"*

Again, when Sir William Lucy proclaims the titles of Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, Joan of Arc, far from being impressed with respect, exclaims

"Here's *a silly stately style* indeed!
The Turk, that two-and-fifty kingdoms hath
Writes not so tedious a style as this."†

So entirely does *style* ally itself to "the subject-matter which is handled," that Polonius distinguishes between the plays which his actors are prepared to perform as "Tragedy, Comedy, History, Pastoral, Pastoral-Comical, Historical-Pastoral, Tragical-Historical, Tragical, Comical, Historical, Pastoral, scene individable or poem unlimited: Seneca cannot be too heavy, nor Plautus too light."‡

However different the *subject*, and, consequently, the *style* of the play, these excellent actors are equal to them all; and if this be the case with really good actors, so also it is the case with truly great writers. One single unvaried style proclaims poverty of thought and knowledge. Poverty of thought entails poverty of language, and a style fitted to its one "subject-matter." Francis Bacon could not have "filled up all numbers," and become "the mark and acmé of our language," had he not first "taken all knowledge to be his province."

(4.) Bacon did not write "Baconian prose" and "Shakesperian poetry" at the first effort. He was 36 years old when he published the first ten of his *Moral Essays:* 44 when he published two books only of the *Advancement of Learning:* more than 60 when he gave to the world (with the *Shakespeare* folio, 1623) his crowning scientific work, the *De Augmentis.* "His first and childish years were not without some mark of eminency; at which time he was endued with that pregnancy and towardness of wit, as they were presages of that deep and inward apprehension which was manifest in him afterward."§

* Hen. IV. iv. 1, 50. † *Ib.* iv. 7, 72. ‡ Ham. ii. 2, 401.
§ Dr. Rawley's "*Life of Bacon.*"

At 19, he wrote with an ease and command of language quite in advance of his years, and of the times in which he lived. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to "suppose" that the youthful student, who, at the age of 15, had run through the whole circle of the liberal arts, and had practically taken his M.A. degree, who also at all times urged the importance of *writing* as well as of reading and cogitating, did himself practice what he preached. After leaving college he seems to have spent one year in study at home. Then in the gay suite of the English Embassy he travelled to the south of France, and joined the French Court at Bordeaux. With no obligations to work, we know that for three years he observed and studied. Is it probable that his pen lay idle?

The *Promus* notes show him laying up stores of notes to improve his own style and language, and this fact renders it in the highest degree unlikely that he did this at a time when he was writing nothing. We foresee that some day a mass of crude, may we say, *boyish* plays, poems, essays, tracts, treatises, and translations, will show how Francis Bacon was engaged between the years 1576 and 1582, after which date he wrote with assiduity, and with a degree of rapidity which was the marvel of his secretaries. Later in life, his apothecary, Peter Boener, mentions that he "seldom saw him take up a book. He only ordered his chaplain and me to look in such and such an author for a certain place, and then he dictated to us in the morning what he had *invented and composed in the night.*" Surely the "inventions" and "compositions" were not scientific or legal works; the former word is Bacon's habitual term for works of imagination. But passing over this point in Boener's suggestive record, we have here one of the many hints which teach us how the great master achieved the enormous amount of work to be claimed as his. Excepting during his poverty, and before his society was in good working order, he did little of the *mechanical* part of the work involved in writing. Thoughts clear and lucid as the sunbeams, streamed into his mind and illuminated his vast stores of knowledge. Then, as his monument seems to be perpetually telling us, "*sic sedebat.*" Thus he sat, with upturned face, supported upon his left hand, dictating to his friendly secretaries, perhaps shorthand writers.

(5.) As years rolled by, and the effect of Bacon's labours began to tell, it is certain that other authors "aped" his manner of writing, "limping after in tardy imitation." The additional difficulty thus presents itself: How to distinguish imitations from the real thing. How to define between (1st) writings absolutely Bacon's, (2nd) sketches of his filled in at later periods by other hands, (3rd) the writings of others revised and touched by Bacon, (4th) early writings of his modernized, adapted to the speech and taste of a later generation. To dogmatize in the present state of elementary knowledge would be foolish and futile, to enforce opinions unsupported by evidence, the height of presumption. Let us then confine ourselves in this paper to the analysis of Bacon's acknowledged and indubitable writings, and endeavour to ascertain the habitual characteristics which are seen in his works at all periods, the particulars which appear chiefly in his middle age, and those of his most finished and perfect style.

In the American BACONIANA of May, 1892, an effort was made in the direction, the *Vocabulary* of Bacon was briefly reviewed, and lists of *habitual* words—nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs—were given. Possibly present readers may not all possess copies of the article in question, but it is procurable, and we cannot therefore go over the same ground again, but must sum up the evidence with the assurance that (with some exceptions to be noted) the ordinary vocabulary of Bacon is fairly represented by the "Shakespeare Concordance." * Excluding from the argument proper names and absolute technicalities of science, such as apogee and perigee, sublimate of mercury, pneumatics, convex and achromatic lenses, logarithms, exotic or magistral logic—terms which one would not expect to encounter in poetry, and on the other hand discarding oaths, colloquialisms, and vulgarisms, such as could not find place in scientific works or even in letters, the result remains that, of every 200 words from the authentic works of Bacon there are *three words not in Shakespeare.* In *Shakespeare* there are fewer still not to be found in Bacon. The same word may assume a different form—advantageable, disadvantageable, comprehensive, incomprehensive, uncomprehensive, or a different person or tense may be used; but, practically, the vocabularies of the two groups of works are identical, with such variations only, as the

* Edited by Mrs. Cowden Clark.

date or the subject of prose or poetry demand. For the vocabulary of Bacon grew perennially; to his latest years we find him pouring into the language new and beautiful forms and "pricking-in some flowers of that he had learned abroad" into the familiar and household tongue of his own country.

May, then, this first point concerning the ordinary and habitual vocabulary of Bacon be fairly tested by means of the "*Shakespeare Concordance*"? If so, here is a step in advance.

Now for grammar. Dr. Abbott, in the preface to his "Shakesperian Grammar," states that the object of this work is "to furnish students of *Shakespeare and Bacon* with a short systematic account of some points of difference between Elizabethan syntax and our own." It seems presumptuous to record the fact that Dr. Abbott speaks truly, and that the "*Shakespeare Grammar*" fits equally well the study of Bacon.

Pass from vocabulary and grammar to the "Formularies and Elegancies" in Bacon's *Promus*, his shop or store-house of new, graceful, and quaint terms of expression, begun, as the handwriting shows, in early youth, and continued till about 1594, when he was 33 years of age. His note-taking, however, was a life-long habit, and probably when all concerning him shall be triumphantly declared, many more similar notes will be forthcoming to attest his industry and to throw light upon the methods by which the English language was enlarged and enriched.

The *Promus* includes notes which cannot be reached by the "Concordance," whence adverbs are excluded. The notes also draw attention to small expressions now so common and seemingly indispensable to everyday talk, that with difficulty can we realize the great writer jotting them down for the improvement of his own diction. It is easy, however, to trace the effect of such jottings in his works, whether of poetry or prose. The spelling here, as elsewhere, declare them to be the products of a very early period.

What will you?
For the rest
Is it possible?
Not the lesse for that
If you stay thear
For a tyme
Will you see?
What will be the end?
You take it right

All this while
Of grace (from the French *de grace*)
As is
Let it not displease you
You put me in mynd
I object
I demand
I distinguish

A matter not in question
Well
The mean, the tyme
All will not serve
You have forgot nothing
Whear stay we?
That agayne
More or less
I find that strange

Not unlike
Yf that be so
Is it because?
What els?
Nothing lesse
It cometh to that
Hear you faile
To meet with that
Bear with that
And how now?
Best of all
Well remembered
I arrest you thear
I cannot think that
Discourse better
I was thinking
I come to that
That is iust nothing
Peradventure
Say then how
Say that (for admit that)
Peradventure can you *Sp.* (what can you)
So much there is (*Fr.*) nevertheless
See then how (*Sp.*)
Much lesse
Yf yow be at leasure
Furnyshed, etc., as phappes yow are
The rather by cause (contynuing another's speech
To the end saving that
Whereas yet (contynuances of all kynds)
Not prejudicing
With this
With that
It is like (*Sr.*), etc., putting a man agayne into his tale interrupted
Your reason
I have been alwaies at his request
A proper young man
I have knowne the tyme, &c.
Is it a small thing yf, etc.
I will proove why goe and proove it
O the
O my (*L. Sr*)
Believe it
Believe it not
To cherish or endear
Delivered, unwrapped
To discount, to cleere
Removing, remuant

The 1680 entries in the *Promus*, although at first sight so mixed as to seem entirely heterogeneous and confused, may be sorted into eight groups or classes.

1. Single words
2. Turns of expression
3. Forms of salutation
4. Metaphors and similes
5. Aphorisms or pithy sayings
6. Proverbs or proverbial philosophy from the Bible, or the classics, or national proverbs (English, French, Spanish, and Italian
7. Mottoes for chapters of meditation
8. Miscellaneous

For the detection of Bacon's *early* style, these *Promus* notes are invaluable. Nearly all the characteristic turns of expression and the habitual verbs of his *later* style * are absent; but all the more grateful may we be for the unobtrusive words and phrases which might have escaped notice had they not been registered in these precious "common-places," more than three hundred years ago. We need ask no one's permission to use as one of our many tests for Bacon's style the collection of notes made with his own hand.

Another aid to our study is afforded by the "*Shakespeare Key*," a book which deserves to be better known than it appears to be. It aims at "unlocking the treasures of Shakespeare's style, and the peculiarities of his construction," but by ignoring all Elizabethan writers excepting *Shakespeare*, this book offers a ready handle to those who would apply the key to the unlocking also the treasures of Bacon's style which are enshrined in his *History of Henry VII.* This brief history fills 38 pages containing 76,000 words, of which (omitting some proper names and some purely foreign words) all but 23 find congeners in Shakespeare, 67 words occur in *Shakespeare* under different forms, as: ingenerate, ingener; inheritress, inheritrix;

* See BACONIANA, May, 1892.

illegitimation, legitimation; congruing, congruent; and so forth. As a rule, the strange or harsh words are far more frequent in Bacon's early than in his later works; they were for the most part experiments which his own good taste rejected, and which therefore do not survive in modern English. But setting aside mere vocabulary, let us try to use as a test for Bacon's style this "*Shakespeare Key.*"

The table of contents* embraces 94 headings, of which nearly half concern points of style. Of these points almost every one is illustrated in Bacon's *History of Henry VII.*,† and it is not too much to say that every "characteristic" of *Shakespeare* pointed out in the "Key," is to be found in the authentic writings of Bacon. We are then in possession of the following books, all easily accessible, to aid us in the elucidation of Bacon's style:—

(1.) *The Shakespeare Concordance*, in which 98·5 *words* are Baconian.

(2.) *The Shakespeare Grammar*, written for the use of students of Bacon and Shakespeare.

(3.) *The Promus*, in which upwards of 1,600 notes by Bacon accord with passages in Shakespeare.

(4.) *The Shakespeare Key*, in which "every feature of this rich Shakesperian" style is set forth, and which absolutely reproduces the features of Bacon's style. Will Baconians be satisfied as to the authenticity of works which exhibit—1st, the words; 2nd, the grammar; 3rd, the literary notes; 4th, the "features" of their master's style? If not, we must go on again.

Here is a dictionary of metaphors and similes—unhappily only in manuscript, and far from perfect, but a dictionary notwithstanding —wherein are collected upwards of 30,000 extracts containing metaphors and similes from the acknowledged works of Bacon and *Shakespeare.* The resemblance between the two groups can be realized only by those who have studied and used such a dictionary. The conviction then forces itself upon the student that this vast system of metaphorical language forms part of Bacon's "method"

* See extracts from the table at the end of this article.

† The passages compared are ready for printing when space can be afforded in BACONIANA.

(hinted at in a *Promus* note, and fully explained in the preface to the *Wisdom of the Ancients*) that knowledge must be "wrapped" in order to be "delivered."

"Men have proposed to answer two different and contrary ends by the use of parable; for parables serve as well to instruct or illustrate as to wrap and envelop, . . . and every man of any learning, must readily allow this method of instructing is grave, sober, or exceedingly useful, and sometimes necessary in the sciences, as it opens an easy and familiar passage to the human understanding in all new discoveries that are abstruse and out of the road of vulgar opinions. Hence, in the first ages, when such inventions and conclusions of the human reason as are now trite and common were new and little known, all things abounded with parables, similes, comparisons, and allusions,* . . . and even to this day, if any man would let new light in upon the human understanding, and conquer prejudice without raising contests, animosities, opposition, or disturbance, he must still go on in the same path, and have recourse to the like method of allegory, metaphor, and allusion."

Now Bacon classes this use of parabolic and figurative teaching amongst the *deficients*, we may therefore fairly claim that the presence of his metaphors and similes, in combination with many or all of the before-mentioned particulars (vocabulary, grammar, peculiar turns of speech and tricks of style), greatly strengthens the evidence in favour of his authorship.

The importance of Bacon's metaphors and similes is heightened by the fact that *they include all the symbols and figurative language of Freemasonry and Rosicrucianism.* We do not stop to argue the probabilities with regard to Bacon having been the centre, if not the Founder of the great Society† for the Advancement of Learning, but "the greater contains the less." And since it appears that in the writings of Bacon all the figurative language culminates, which is found scattered or sprinkled throughout other works of the period, and particularly in the writings of the Rosicrucians, it is reasonable to regard Bacon himself as the Fountain to which others came with

* "For there's figures in all things."—*Henry V. iv. 7.*

† It seems to be generally admitted that Bacon has been always held in high and special reverence by Freemasonry. The account of C. R. C. in the *Fama Fraternitatis*, is a parabolic outline of Bacon's early life.—A. E. WAITE.

their pitchers. To endeavour to account for the similarities of the figures (as well as every other particular of style) by assuming that these things "were in the air," that in the time of Bacon all learned or witty men wrote and thought on the same subjects in the same style, is special pleading which will not be accepted by sincere and unprejudiced authorities. Why should we assume the existence in the times of Elizabeth of a phenomenal uniformity, such as has never, before or since, been discovered in the works of different authors?

Yet advancing "from particulars to generals" (as Bacon advises) it has been necessary to look earnestly into the works of Bacon in order to gather from them the *great thoughts*, "the grounds and notions from within himself," the "fixed ideas," which are said to have been with him from boyhood, and "in which he continued till his dying day." Such fixed ideas, although they cannot properly come under the head of "style," yet indirectly affect the style of a composition, and aid in identifying the author. For it is certain that no two men since the creation of the world have had from childhood upwards, the same grounds and notions from within themselves, nor have used the same terms in expressing their notions.

The extent and scope of a man's reading, the books and the authors whom he best loves, and selects as models, have also a marked effect on his style. A collection has therefore been attempted of the *quotations* made use of by Bacon, and of his *opinions* concerning the authors whom he cites. Somewhat similar quotations, and an entire accordance in opinion, may reasonably be expected in books claimed as his.

We are often reminded by Shakespearians that "Ben Jonson was no fool, and knew what he was talking about" when he so highly eulogised his "Beloved Master William Shakespeare, and what he hath left us." Need we doubt that Ben Jonson knew equally well what he was talking about when he commended the Beloved Master, under whose roof he is said to have lived and written, probably amongst the amanuenses and "able pens" at York House and St. Albans? Ben Jonson said of Francis Bacon, that "it is he who hath filled up all numbers, and performed that in our tongue, which may be compared or preferred to insolent Greece, or haughty Rome .... so that he may be named as the mark and acmé of our

language." In short, he wrote in every style (of poetry at least), and none have surpassed him.

Were we called upon to state the grounds upon which any given piece of writing may be claimed as Bacon's, we ought not to say that they are "in Bacon's style," and that anyone who doubts this must be ignorant or foolish. Such talk is empty and proves nothing; we must go to work in a more serious and scientific spirit. On the table at which the present pages are being written lies a copy of *Macbeth* which has been "racked" and anatomised; and although being in the high style of tragedy and concerned with Scottish affairs, it is by no means the best piece to illustrate our meaning, yet much may be learned from it.

1. *Vocabulary:* Excepting the word *gallowglasses*, used in conjunction with that other Irish term *Kerus* (of whom Bacon has to speak), hardly a word in *Macbeth* but is found in the acknowledged works of Bacon. Set against such few exceptions as may perhaps with diligence be traced, the many habitual Baconian expressions. To conclude. In conclusion. To question, prove, protest, persuade, stir, mark, note, wrap, deliver. To stand upon. To rest. To be counselled. To be fit, &c. Say that, The rather, A man, Thing, Nothing, No less, The rest, It is true, Wholesome, Due, In a word, Briefly, Solely, the State of Man, a Thing most strange and certain, &c.

2. *Promus Notes:* 160 passages in *Macbeth* contain allusions to entries, besides the small turns of expression included above.

3. *Metaphors and Similes*, at least 300, of which every one is used in Bacon's prose.

4. *Antitheta:* Fair, foul; Ill, good; Beast, man; Wrap, deliver; Sparrows, lions; Hare, lion; Win, lose, &c.

5. *Double Words:* Half-world, Heat-oppressed, Nose-painting, Self-comparisons, Air-drawn, &c.

6. *Alliterations:* "*S*hakes *s*o my *s*ingle *s*tate of man." "*S*mothered in *s*urmise." "*T*empest *t*ost." *A*roint thee witch, the *r*ump-fed *r*onyon cries, &c.

7. *Verbs, Nouns, &c.:* "Cabinned, Cribbed, Confined." "Who all-hailed me." "I'll devil-porter it," to "Badge," to "Equivocate heaven." We see here Bacon's habit of interchanging parts of speech.

8. *Repetition with Alliteration:* "Doubly-redoubled." "Twice done, and then done double," &c. Combination exactly in Bacon's manner.

9. *Quibbles,* puns, "jests" which he never "could pass by"; "fear, fair," "the near in blood, the nearer bloody."

10. *Legalisms;* almost as inevitable as the Quibbles. "Execution done in commission." "If the assassination could trammel up the consequence." "My bosom enfranchised, and allegiance clear." "In the interim," &c.

But again hastening from these "particulars" to the "generals" and to the subject-matter, we need go no farther than Act. I. in order to perceive Bacon's scientific studies of the *History of Winds*, combined with his legal study of *Witchcraft*, with opinions on the *Art of War*, expressed in his *Military Statesman*, and with his habitual allusions to *Bible History*.

Scene iii. reflects his *Experiments touching the Imagination*, and his cogitations in the *Advancement of Learning* as to the rights and wrongs of conversing with, or contemplating the nature of degenerate and revolted spirits. We see the effects of his "experiments" as to how "the spirits and the imagination, and the more *airy* parts of bodies work at a distance," and of "the emission of spirits and immateriate powers which work by *the seeds of things*," as Macbeth evidently imagines the immateriate, airy witches to work.

In the same Scene we read of "the insane root that takes the reason prisoner," and perceive the same train of thought as in the *Advancement*, where Bacon says that "they who are carried away by *insane* passion . . . beget nothing but hideous and monstrous spectres," and that "degenerate magic has the same kind of effect as some *soporific drugs*, which not only lull to sleep, but instil dreams." The *insane root*, we find from other notes of Bacon's to be Hellebore, but the "soporfic drugs" are Poppy and Mandragora, and other "drowsy syrups," and benumbing poisons, of which he closely studied the effects when conducting criminal cases of poisoning. Every particular of this kind which he notes, reappears in due course in one or other of the plays.

The *History of Winds*, the *History of Dense and Rare and of Pneumatic Bodies*, are inextricably woven in *Macbeth*, with the

Histories or *Doctrines of the Human Soul*, and of the *Union of Mind and Body*. These again link themselves with the Doctrines of the *Biform Figure of Nature*, of *the Vital Spirits in all things*—the *Art of Prolonging Life*, and the *History of Life and Death*. Upwards of 100 notes are required in order to show Bacon's Science, his Law, his Ethics and Opinions re-produced in *Macbeth*. But to sum up briefly.

Vocabulary, Grammar, Habitual Phrases, *Promus* Notes, Tricks of Speech, Alliterations, Quibbles, Paradoxes, Antitheta, Sophisms, Analogies, a vast and universal system of Metaphors, Similes, and "Distinctions" or "Contraries"—some or all of these combine to form the varied, myriad-minded language of Francis Bacon. When to these we find added (even in works with the names of other and miscellaneous authors on the title-page) his Great Thoughts, the "fixed notions" and aspirations which are undeniably his own, who will deny his claim to the authorship? Upon what grounds can it be denied him?

One question more and we have done. "If the particulars enumerated are not sufficient to prove identity of authorship, *what can prove it?* or what standard can be established whereby the *style* of any author can be defined and identified?

In the "*Shakespeare Key*" the Table of Contents points out the features which are considered characteristic of, if not peculiar to the Poet's style. These features have been carefully compared with the prose writings of Bacon, and in every instance uses identical with or similar to those extracted from the poetry, have been found.

EXTRACTS FROM "TABLE OF CONTENTS" TO SHAKESPEARE KEY.

Abundant imagery
Affected phraseology
Alliteration
Antithetical style
Cant terms
Coarsnesses and delicacies
Coined words
Conceits
Deviating into various tenses
Dissonances
Double epithets
Elder, eldest
Elisional abbreviations
Elliptical style
Enigmatical phraseology
Exclamations, interjections
Familiar and homely expressions
Historians' passages adopted
Hyperbolical expressions
Idioms
Imperative mood; Subjunctive mood
Ironical phrases — sarcasm, satire
Italian idiom
Iterated words
Jesting
Legal phrases
Love exaggerations
Mode of address or salutation
Musical terms
Paradox
Paraphrases
Parts of speech diversely used
Passages of single words
Peculiar construction
Peculiar use of words
Perfect impression through imperfect expression (power of writing silence
Plays on words. Puns
Pleonasms
Provincial terms
Punctuation
Recurrence of particular points
Relatively used pronouns
Repeated words
Similes
Taking one bird for another
Technicalities
Things impersonated
Varied meanings
Verbs peculiarly used [&c.
Words like "blame," "fear,"

C. M. P.

BACON THE AUTHOR OF THE SONNETS.

AS an antidote to the anti-Shakespearean (*i.e.*, anti-Baconian) theories of the authorship of the "Sugared Sonnets," I submit the following parallelisms.

"Lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds" (Son. xciv.).

This line is repeated verbatim in the anonymous drama of *Edward the Third*, which was composed some time before 1595, and printed many years later. Halliwell Phillipps quotes several passages therefrom, including the one containing the above line, and seems almost, if not quite, persuaded that Shakespeare composed them. And Mrs. Pott finds upwards of twenty-four allusions to Bacon's *Promus* notes in the single scene in which the aforesaid line occurs, which scene, she says, has been pronounced to be Shakespearean by one critic of the first rank (Bacon's "Promus," p. 75).

"Whoever hath his wish, thou hast thy will" (Son. cxxxv.).

"He had rather have his will than his wish" (Promus 113).

> "So the maid that stood in the way for my wish,
> Shall show me the way to my will"
>
> (Henry V., v. 2).

> "Why now thou hast thy wish. . . .
> Why now thou hast thy will"
>
> (3 Hen. VI., i. 4).

"Sweetest things turn sourest by their deeds" (Son. xciv.).

"The sweets we wish for turn to loathed sours" (Lucrece, 867).

"Now seeming sweet convert to bitter gall" (Rom. Jul. i. 5).

"Beware of the vinegar of sweet wine" (Promus 571).

Mrs. Pott adduces many more passages from the Sonnets that resemble the Promus notes, the more striking of which are numbers 133, 150, 154, 341, 405, 423, 473, 540, 665, 730, 859, and 953.

> "O thou my lovely boy. . . .
> Who hast by waning grown"
>
> (Son. cxxvi.).

"I care not to wax great by other's waning" (2 Hen. VI., iv. 10).

"Youth waneth by encreasing" (The Retired Courtier).

"The Retired Courtier" was Sir Henry Lea, the Queen's champion and master of the armoury, who resigned his office November 17, 1590, on the 33rd anniversary of Elizabeth's Coronation, when the beautiful lines of the poem were recited. See "Bacon's Promus," p. 528, and "Bacon and Shakespeare," p. 43, for proofs that the poem was composed by Bacon.

"But as the marigold at the sun's eye" (Son. xxv.).

"The marigold that goes to bed wi' the sun" (Winter's Tale iv. 4).

"Her eyes, like marigolds, had sheathed their light" (Lucrece, 397).

"Mine eye hath play'd the painter, and hath stell'd thy beauty" (Son. xxiv.).

"To find a face where all distress is stell'd" (Lucrece i. 444).

"And quenched the stelled fires" (Lear iii. 7).

In Jephson's Glossary, stelled is defined as "set or fixed," and is characterized as "a doubtful word." Webster's Unabridged defines stelled as "starry," marks it as obsolete, and erroneously quotes "Quenched the stelled fires" as from Milton.

"When I perhaps compounded am with clay" (Son. lxxi.).

"Compound me with forgotten dust" (2 Hen. IV., iv. 5).

"When that fell arrest
Without all bail shall carry me away"
(Son. lxxiv.).

"This fell sergeant, death,
Is strict in his arrest"
(Ham. v. 2).

"Hath serv'd a dumb arrest" (Lucrece i. 789).

"Salving thy amiss" (Son. xxxv.).

"Prologue to some great amiss" (Ham. iv. 5).

"I would have salved it with a longer treatise" (Much Ado i. 1).

"Amiss, *n.* A fault or wrong (*Obs.*) 'Some great *amiss*,' *Shak.*" (Webster).

"Gilding pale streams with heavenly alchemy" (Son. xxxiii.).

"His countenance, like richest alchemy" (Jul. Cæs. i. 3).

"And you in Grecian tires are painted new" (Son. liii.).

The fourth meaning of the noun tire is thus defined by Webster:

"Attire, apparel. 'Having much rich *tire* about you.' *Shak.*"
"Besmeared with sluttish time" (Son. lv.).
"Sluttish spoils of opportunity" (Troil. and Cress., Induc. 2).
"Sluttish ground" (Ven. and Adon. 983).
"And patience tame to sufferance" (Son. lviii.).
"At least a patient sufferance" (Much Ado, i. 3).
"Of sufferance cometh ease" (2 Hen. IV., v. 4).
"Of sufferance cometh ease" (Promus 945).
"This sad interim" (Son. lvi.).
"A heavy interim" (Oth. i. 3).
"For she hath no exchequer now but his" (Son. lxviii.).
"Evermore thanks the exchequer of the poor" (Rich. II., ii. 3).
"Doing thee vantage, double-vantage me" (Son. lxxxviii.).
"But little vantage shall I reap thereby" (Rich. II., i. 3).
"Then in the blazon of sweet beauty's best" (Son. cvi.).
"This eternal blazon must not be" (Ham. i. 5).
"And made myself a motley to the view" (Son. cx.).
"Invest me in my motley" (A. Y. L. I. ii. 1).
"I wear not motley in my brain" (Twel. N. i. 5).
"In so profound abysm" (Son cxii.).
"Abysm of time" (Temp. i. 2).
"Abysm of hell" (Ant. and Cleo. iii. 13).
"His gust" (Son. cxiv.).
"In sin's extremest gust" (Cor. i 6).
"With my extern the outward honouring" (Son. cxxv.).
"In compliment extern" (Oth. i. 1).
"Extern, . . . (Obs.). *Shak.*" (Webster).
"Nay, if thou lour'st on me" (Son. cxlix.).
"The clouds that loured upon our house" (Rich. III., i. 1).
"Still he lours and frets" (Ven. and Adon. 75).
"The ornament of beauty is suspect" (Son. lxx.).
"Her rash suspect" (Ven. and Adon., 1010).
"These vile suspects" (Rich. III. i. 3).
"Hold it a suspect" (Bacon's Essay on *Praise*).
"Distilled from limbecks" (Son. cxviii.).
"A limbeck only" (Mac. i. 7).
This word is used for alembic.

"Upon deceased I" (Son. lxxii.).

"O his poor she" (Lucrece, 1674).

Such violations of grammar are frequent in the plays.

"Such cherubins as your sweet self resemble" (Son. cxiv.).

"A cherubin thou wast" (Mer. Ven. iii. 2).

"Like a cherubin" (A Lover's Complaint, 318).

This wrong spelling, with a final "n" instead of an "m," is repeated in the plays at least six times. The right spelling, in Macbeth i. 7, is an alteration from the Folio, which has "cherubin." Cherubim, in Hebrew, is the plural of cherub.

"Much liker than your painted counterfeit" (Son. xvi.).

The word "liker" may not occur in the plays, but Bacon uses it at least twice, to wit:—

"For I am sure no man was liker to be a pensioner than Somerset" (Letters, vol. v., p. 265).

"We see that beasts have those parts . . . liker unto men" (Natural History, sub. 238).

> "Anon permit the basest clouds to ride
> With ugly rack on his celestial face,
> And from the forlorn world his visage hide."
> (Son. xxxiii.)

Webster defines the noun rack thus: "Properly, moisture; dampness; hence, thin, flying, broken clouds, or any portion of floating vapor in the sky.

"'The winds in the upper region, which move the clouds above, which we call *rack*.' *Bacon*."

And in *Antony and Cleopatra*, iv. 14, is this passage:—

> "Sometimes we see a cloud that's dragonish,
> A vapor, sometimes like a bear or lion . . .
> That which is now a horse, even with a thought
> The *rack* dislimns and makes it indistinct."

"When all the breathers of this world are dead" (Son. lxxxi.).

"I will chide no breather in this world but myself" (A. Y. L. I. iii. 2).

"Cannot dispraise but in a kind of praise" (Son. xcv.).

"Dispraise the thing you desire to buy" (Troil. and Cres. iv. 1).

"What's in the brain that ink may character?" (Son. cviii.).

"These trees shall be my books,
And in their barks my thoughts I'll character."
(A. Y. L. I., iii. 2).

"These blenches gave my heart another youth" (Son. cx.).

Webster defines the obsolete noun blench as "A start or shrinking back," and quotes the above line from Shakespeare. The intransitive verb blench occurs several times in the plays, with a meaning analogous to the noun.

"I, my mistress' thrall" (Son. cliv.).

"And made her thrall" (Lucrece 725).

"Living in thrall" (Pas. Pilg. xviii.).

"We govern nature in opinions, but are thrall unto her necessity" (Bacon, 1590).

"Unear'd womb" (Son. iii.).

"Our earing" (Ant. and Cleo. i. 2).

"And never after ear so barren a land" (Ven. and Adon., Ded.).

"The lark . . . sings hymns at heaven's gate" (Son. xxix.).

"The lark at heaven's gate sings" (Cym. ii. 3).

"The lark whose notes do beat the vaulty heaven" (Rom. and Jul. iii. 5).

Many more rare, obsolete, and peculiar words in the Sonnets are used more or less frequently in the plays; for example:—

Niggard, largess, highmost, unperfect, presagers, alack, ensconce, outworn, forsworn, mouthed, preposterously, scanted, potion, razed, minion, audit, quietus, reeks, level (at), in faith.

And the author's knowledge of law is shown in Sonnets iv., xlvi., lxiv., and cxxxiv.

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A PROMUS STUDY.

THE Promus note No. 463 runs thus, "*Nec fandi fictor Ulysses*" —("Ulysses, sly in speech"). Bacon thus notes that slyness is the mark and characteristic of Ulysses. This is a memorandum for literary use. In Bacon's prose works this quality is not referred to. Ulysses is two or three times referred to as "led by custom," and so *vetulam prætulit immortalitati*:—he preferred his old wife to immortality.—*Adv. L.*, last p.; *Ess. of Marriage*: but of his slyness no mention is made.

He is also referred to in the *Wisdom of the Ancients*—defeating the Sirens by stuffing the ears of his crew with wool, while he himself, with unstopped ears, was tied to the mast.—*Wisd. An.*, last chap.

Neither in this case also is the note of slyness introduced. In Shakespeare, however, Ulysses is never casually mentioned without reference to his slyness: and where he appears on the stage as a character his counsel is marked by the subtlety or slyness which the Promus note indicates. The instances are as follows:—

> "But the mild glance which *sly* Ulysses lent
> Shewed deep regard and smiling government."
> —*Lucrece*, 1399.

It will be remembered that the crafty Claudius, in Hamlet, is set down in Hamlet's *Promus*—his note-book—as a "smiling villain." He also is a case of "deep regard and smiling government." Smiling seems to be, in Shakespeare's mind, a note or expedient of slyness. For Richard III. can "smile and murder while he smiles": he can "speak fair and smile in men's faces," while he is plotting mischief against them. Donalbain, in Macbeth, says, "There's daggers in men's smiles." And Richard II. speaks of his rival and supplanter Bolingbroke as "Wooing poor craftsmen with the craft of smiles." There are other instances, but these will suffice to illustrate the specific connection in Shakespeare's thought between smiling and slyness. Some such idea may have been working in Bacon's mind, when he entered into his *Promus* the note (501), "Better is the last smile than the first laughter." At any rate it shews that in his mind also smiles are highly significant.

Of all Shakespeare's characters Richard III. is the most crafty and designing and perfidious. Slyness might will be attributed to him. So it is; but Ulysses is the type to which slyness is referred.

> "I'll play the orator as well as Nestor,
> Deceive more slyly than Ulysses could."
> —*3 Hen. VI.*, III. ii. 188.

Some of the speeches of Ulysses, in *Troilus and Cressida*, are of surpassing wisdom and depth—slyness is too vulgar and grovelling an attribute to be connected with them. Yet even here a subtlety of purpose is shown which on a lower level of action might pass for slyness. In order to chastise the pride of Achilles, he wishes that Hector's challenge, which is really levelled at Achilles, should be taken up by some inferior champion, so that the reputation of Achilles may dwindle by an invidious comparison. Surely here is the very apotheosis of slyness:—

> "'Tis meet Achilles meet not Hector.
> Let us, like merchants, show our foulest wares,
> And think, perchance, they'll sell: if not,
> The lustre of the better, yet to show,
> Shall show the better. . . .
> No: make a lottery,
> And by device let blockish Ajax draw
> The sort to fight with Hector: among ourselves
> Give him allowance for the better man," &c., &c.
> —*Tro. Cres.*, I. iii. 358—392.

If such counsel as this could be irreverently criticised, it would be called sly: and accordingly Thersites, who is the type of irreverence and scorn, speaks of "that dog-fox Ulysses"—*Ib.*, V. iv. 11.

If we would see how the note of slyness attaches by a sort of necessity to Ulysses, we find it in the speech of Warwick, describing his purpose of surprising and seizing the young King Edward:—

> "Our scouts have found the adventure very easy;
> That as Ulysses and great Diomede
> With *sleight* and manhood stole to Rhesus' tents,
> And brought from thence the Thracian fatal steeds,
> So we," &c. —*3 Hen. VI.*, IV. ii. 18.

Observe that sleight is connected with Ulysses, and manhood with Diomede. Sleight (so spelt) evidently means slyness, and that is its

proper meaning; a one syllable variation of slyness was wanted, and here it is. The word, so spelt, occurs nowhere else in Shakespeare. The same word, probably, is used once in *Macbeth*, but in the folio, our only authority, it is spelt *slight*. The meaning, however, requires the diphthong:—

> "Upon the corner of the moon
> There hangs a vaporous drop profound;
> I'll catch it ere it come to ground:
> And that, distilled by magic *slights*,
> Shall raise such artificial sprites,
> As, by the strength of their illusion,
> Shall draw him on to his confusion."
>
> —*Macbeth*, III. v. 23.

Doubtless this should be spelt *sleights*. But as Ulysses was not being referred to, the poet had nothing to keep him on the alert to maintain by accurate spelling the correlation of the word with slyness. This motive secured the proper spelling in the *3 Hen. VI.* passage.

Philologists say that *sleigh* is the old form of *sly*. Bacon uses the word sleigh in the squire's speech in his Device:—"Jugglers are no longer in request when their tricks and sleights are once perceived." —*Life*, I. 384.

It is plain, then, that Shakespeare's references to Ulysses show that he had probably made a private note in his collection of hints for invention—"N.B.—Ulysses must always be *sly*"—and the Promus supplies the reference.

R. M. T.

Dr. Gaisford (former Dean of Christchurch, Oxford) gave to Bacon the credit for most of the plays attributed to Shakespeare, and cried Phoo! pooh! to the notion that Julius Cæsar "could have been written by a strolling player."—*Temple Bar*

MR. SHAKSPEARE, Q.C.

PART II.

IN the "*Tracts of the Law*" Bacon explains in simple language the meaning of the following terms, and the reader may in these few tracts inform himself on proceedings described by Lord Campbell as "the most abstruse in English jurisprudence."

Arrest by Constables.

"The office of the Constable was to arrest the parties, . . . which persons he might imprison in the stocks, or in his own house, as his or their quality required . . . until they had become bounden . . . to keep the peace. . . . Also these constables would keep watch about the town for the apprehension of rogues and vagabonds. And they ought also to raise a hue and cry against murderers, manslayers, thieves and rogues, &c."

See Com. Err. IV. 2. Where Adriana, hearing that her husband is arrested, is astonished that he, unknown to her, should be in debt :—

Adr. "Tell me, was he arrested on a bond?"
Dro. S. "Not on a bond, but on a stronger thing :
A chain, a chain!"

Of the whole scene, Lord Campbell says* :—"Here we have a most circumstantial and graphic account of an English arrest on *mesne process* (before judgment) in an action on the case, for the price of a gold chain, by a sheriff's officer or bum-bailiff, in his buff costume, and carrying his prisoner to a sponging-house—a spectacle which might often have been seen by an attorney's clerk."

Bacon wrote a separate paper (not published till 1641) on the *Office of Constables*. Here the election of Constables, their length of office, their rank and order, their authority, and power, and oath, are clearly set down. We seem to see that the ridicule and gentle irony of the play had a serious purpose, and aimed at reforming abuses in the office. To the question, "Of what rank and order are the Constables?" the answer is returned :—"They be men, *as it is now used*, of inferior, yea, of base condition, which is a mere abuse, or degenerating from the first condition."

* "Shakespeare's Legal Acquirements," p. 39.

He sums up thus : "The Constable's office consists in three things: (1) Conservation of the peace, (2) Serving precepts and warrants, (3) Attendance for the execution of statutes. Anyone who will take the trouble to compare this "Office of Constables" with the Plays, will be pleased and surprised to see with what care every detail has been noted. Here we give a few references :—

"*Petty Constables in towns ought to be of the better sort of resiants.*" —*M. Ado* IV. 2—72.

Not aged or sickly, but of able bodies. "An old man, sir ; his wits a little blunt."—III. v. 1—40.

"*To apprehend offenders.*" "You shall comprehend all vagrom men."—III. v.

"*To inquire of all offences against the peace, . . . matter of nuisance, disturbance, and disorder, quarrels, outcries, affrays.*"—III. v. 41—60 ; III. v. 61—71. (*Cries.*)

"Imprison or put in the stocks." "The knave constable set me in the stocks."—*Mer. Wives* IV. 5. 110—111.

"*Every one of the King's people within their limits are bound to assist them.*"—*Mer. Wives* IV. 5, 88; *M. Ado* III. 5.

The Constable must "*take the oath of allegiance of all males,*" &c. —*M. Ado.* III. 5, 24—34 ; V. 2, 35—40.

The Constable must "make the hue and cry."—1 *Hen.* IV. ii. 4. 516 ; *Mer. Wives* IV. 5. 88, 89.

Attainder in Felony or Treason.

"A man is indicted of felony, being not in hold, so as he cannot be brought in person to be tried, insomuch that process of *capias* is therefore awarded to the Sheriff who, not finding him, returneth *non est inventus in balliva mea.* . . . Then a writ, called an *exigent*, is directed to the Sheriff commanding him to proclaim him to yield his body. . . . This is an attainder of felony, whereupon the offender doth forfeit his lands by an escheat to the lord of whom they were holden. . . . A man that being pursued for felony, flieth for it, loseth his goods for his flying," &c.

. . . . "But look to it :
Find out thy brother, wheresoe'er he is ;
Seek him with candle ; bring him dead or living

Within this twelvemonth, or turn thou no more
To seek a living in our territory.
Thy lands and all things that thou dost call thine
Worth seizure do we seize into our hands,
Till thou canst quit thee by thy brother's mouth
O what we think against thee. . . .
. . . . Well, push him out of doors:
And let my officers of such a nature
Make an extent upon his house and lands:
Do this expediently and turn him going." (*Exeunt.*)

"A deep technical knowledge," says Lord Campbell, "is here displayed. The usurping Duke Frederick, wishing all the real property of Oliver to be seized, award a writ of *extent* against him, in the language which would be used by the Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer. '*Make an extent upon his house and lands.*' An *extendi facias* applying to house and lands as a *fieri facias* would apply to goods and chattels, or a *capias ad satisfaciendum* to the person."

The *fieri facias* is illustrated in *Com. Er.* I. i. 20; *R.* II. ii. 3. 129—135; *Hen.* VIII. iii. 2, 341—345, &c.

Capias ad satisfaciendum is illustrated in *M. Ado* V. 4, 52 ("The lady I must seize"); *R.* II. ii. 1, 200—211; *Ant. Cl.* iii. 5, 10—13.

Assault and Battery.

"If any man beat, wound, or maim another, or give out false words which may touch his name, the law giveth an action of battery and an appeal of maim, by which recompense shall be recovered to the value of the hurt and damage."

In *Romeo and Juliet* (i. 1) the servants of the Capulets resolve to move a quarrel with some of the house of Montague. "My naked quarrel is out; quarrel, I will back thee!" . . . "Let us take the law of our sides; let them begin." "I will frown as I pass by, and let them take it as they list." "Nay, as they *dare*. I will bite my thumb at them; which is a disgrace to them, if they bare it." And so the quarrel begins, ending in a fight. Let the scene be read, it is too long for insertion, but "it may be studied by a student of the Inns of Court to acquire a knowledge of the law of *Assault and Battery*. . . . We learn that neither frowning nor biting the thumb, nor answering to a question would be enough to

support the plea of *se defendendo.** To show the ignorance and stupidity of Sir Andrew Aguecheek (*Tw. N.* iv. 1.) in supposing that *son assault demesne* (that the Plaintiff gave the first) is not a good defence in action of battery, he is made to say: "I'll have an action of battery against him if there be any law in Illyria; *though I struck him first*, yet it's no matter for that."

Benefit of Clergy.

"Those prisoners which are found guilty by both Juries, the Judges condemn to death. But because *some prisoners have their books, and are burned in the hand*, and so delivered, it is necessary to show the reason thereof." Bacon shows that the scarcity of clergy in England was the cause of the law, whereby a man who could read was burnt in the hand and exempted from further punishment; but the prisoner had to prove this before the Justice of the Peace.

Cade: "Thou hast appointed Justices of Peace to call poor men before them about matters they were not able to answer. Moreover, thou hast put them in prison, and because they could not read, thou hast hanged them, when indeed only for that cause, they have been most worthy to live."—*See the whole indictment 2 Hen.* VI. iv. 7.

How acquired, I know not, but it is quite certain that the drawer of this indictment must have had some acquaintance with the "*Crown Court Companion*," and a full and accurate knowledge of that rather obscure and intricate subject, *Felony and Benefit of Clergy*.—*Campbell*, p. 76.

Conveyancing and Deeds Poll.

"Property by lands in conveyance is first distributed into estates for years, for life, in tail, and fee simple. . . . Estates of years, called leases, may be made by writing poll," &c.

"Three proper young men . . . with bills on their necks—*Be it known unto all men by these presents.*"

Shakespeare makes the lively Rosalind, who, though well versed in poesy and books of chivalry, had probably never seen a bond or a law-paper, . . . quite familiar with the commencement of all deeds poll, which in Latin was "*Noverint Universi per presentes.*"—"Be it known to all men by these presents."—*Campbell*, p. 40.

* "If a man kill another *in his own defence*, he shall not lose his life nor lands," &c.—*Use of the Law*, p. 1.

The Court Leet.

The jurisdiction of the Court Leet is to three ends. 1. To take the oath of allegiance. 2. To inquire of all offences against the peace. 3. To inquire of, punish, and remove all public nuisances and grievances concerning infection of air, corruption of victuals, ease of chaffer and contract, &c. To these ends the Court Leet hath power to inquire of all defaults of officers, as constables, tasters, and the like.—*Office of Constable.*

> "For though you lay here in this goodly Chamber,
> Yet would you say, ye were beaten out of door,
> And rail upon the hostess of the house
> And say you would present her at the leet,
> Because she brought stone jugs, and no seal'd quarts."
> *Tam. Sh. induc.*

"Shakespeare betrays an intimate knowledge of the matters which may be prosecuted as offences before the Court Leet, the lowest court of criminal judicature. In the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. there was a very wholesome law that, for the protection of the public against 'false measures,' ale should be sold in sealed vessels of the standard capacity, and the violation of the law was to be presented at the Court Leet."—*Campbell*, p. 53.

Descent and Purchase.

Property of lands by descent is where a man hath lands of inheritance and dieth, not disposing of them, but leaving it to go as the law casteth it upon the heir. This is called descent in law, and upon whom the descent is to light, is the question . . . . the law of inheritance preferreth the first child . . . . and amongst children, the male before the female.

> "His faults in him seem as the spots of heaven,
> More fiery by night's blackness; hereditary
> Rather than purchas'd."—*Ant. Cl. i.* 4.
> "What in me was purchas'd
> Falls on thee in a fairer sort."—2 *Hen. IV.* iv. 4.

"Lepidus, in trying to palliate the bad qualities of Antony, uses the language of a conveyancer's chambers in Lincoln's-Inn. . . . His faults are taken by *descent*, not by purchase. So in 2 *Hen IV.*

IV. the usurper king says to the Prince of Wales: I took by *purchase*, you will take by *descent*. Lay gents (viz., all but lawyers) understand by purchase, *buying* . . . . but lawyers consider that 'purchase' is opposed to 'descent,' &c.—*Campbell*, p. 94.

Fee Simple—Recovery—Fines.

"Fee simple is the greatest, last, and uppermost degree of estates in land. . . . Recoveries are for assurances of land. . . . Upon fines, feoffments, and recoveries the estate doth settle according to the intent of the parties, &c."—*Use of the Law.*

"The fee-simple of my life."—*Rom. Jul.* iii. 1.

Cade "Here's the Lord of the soil come to seize me for a stray, for entering his fee-simple."—2 *Hen. VI.*, IV. 10.

Mrs. Page. "The spirit of wantonness is, sure, scared out of him; if the devil have him not in fee-simple with fine and recovery, he will never, I think . . . . attempt us again."—*Mer. Wiv.* iv. 2.

"Shakespeare's head was so full of the recondite terms of the law, that he makes a lady thus pour them out, in a confidential conversation with another lady. . . . This merry wife is supposed to know that the highest estate which the devil could hold in any of his victims was a fee-simple, strengthened with fine and recovery."—*Campbell*, p. 35.

"There's no time for a man to *recover* his hair that grows bald by nature—
May he not do it by *fine and recovery?*
Yes, to pay a *fine* for a periwig, and *recover* the lost hair of another man."

"These jests . . . . show the author to be very familiar with some of the most abstruse proceedings in English jurisprudence."—*Campbell*, p. 38.

In Capite.

"As touching . . . . whether a fine for alienation be due unto his majesty upon a common recovery suffered in Ireland of lands holden by knight's service *In Capite*," &c.—See "Touching Title to Lands," and Law Tracts, *In Capite.*

Cade. "The proudest peer in the realm shall not wear a head on his shoulders unless he pay me tribute: there shall not a maid be

married but she shall pay me her maidenhead ere she have. Men shall hold of me *in capite*, and we charge and command that their wives shall be free as heart can wish or tongue can tell."—2 *Hen. VI.* IV. 7.

"Cade's proclamation deals with still more recondite heads of jurisprudence. Announcing his policy when he should mount the throne he . . . . declares a forthcoming change in the tenure of the land, and in the liability to taxation: he is to have a poll-tax like that which had raised the rebellion; but, instead of coming down to the daughters of blacksmiths who had reached the age of 15, it was to be confined to the nobility. Then is he to legislate on the *mercheta mulierum*. According to Blackstone and other high authorities, this never had been known in England, . . . but Cade intimates his determination to adopt it (from Scotland), with this alteration, that instead of conferring the privilege on every lord of the manor . . . . he is to assume it exclusively for himself . . . . as his prerogative royal. He announces his attention to abolish tenure in *free-soccage*, and that all *men* should hold of him *in capite*, concluding with a licentious jest that, although his subjects should no longer hold in free soccage, 'their wives should be free as heart can wish or tongue can tell.' Strange to say, this phrase, or one almost identical—'as free as tongue can speak, or heart can think,'—is feudal, and known to the ancient law of England. In the tenth year of Henry VII. . . . Lord Hussey, Chief Justice of England during four reigns, in a considered judgment delivered the opinion of the whole Court of King's Bench as to the construction to be put upon the words, 'as free as tongue can speak or heart can tell.'"—*Campbell*, p. 76.

The following index to legal terms and allusions may perhaps be found useful by future writers who may desire to expand this subject into a book. It will be seen that nearly every allusion to law in *Shakespeare* is explained in Bacon's brief tracts—*The Use of the Law* and *Maxims of the Law*. To these law tracts references are given through Spedding's works (vols. vi. and vii.) with the page numbers. The index does not pretend to perfection, but it is sufficient for the purpose aimed at—namely, to show the sources whence "*Shakespeare's*" allusions flow, and that for elucidations as to the legal

knowledge contained in the plays we need seek no further than these simple expositions in Bacon's tracts.

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Entries	vii. 432	...	
Executing an Office		...	Hen. VIII. i. 1.
Execution on Estates		...	L.L.L. v. 2.
„ in Writing ...	„ 328	...	Tw. N. iv. 1, &c.
Executor	„ 340, &c.	...	R. II. 2, &c.
Exemptions	„ 655, &c.	...	1 Hen VI ii. 4, &c.

	Speeding Works.	Shakespeare.
Exigent	„ 467	„ 5. Ant. Cl. iv. 13.
Extant Proofs	„ 595	Mer. Wiv. v. 5, &c.
Extents	„	Tw. N. iv. 1, 2, &c.
Extenuations	„ 608	
Extirpated—Extirped	„ 20, 21	Temp i. 1.
Extortions of Papists	„	Hen. VIII. iii. 2.
Fealty	„ 482	2 Hen. VI. v. 1, &c.
Fee-farm	„ 337	Tr. Cr. iii. 2. Ham. iv 4.
Fee Simple	„ 492	2 Hen. VI. iv. 10. Mer. Wiv. iv. 2.
Felo-de-Se	„ 364, 464, 741	Ham. v. 1.
Feodary	„ 483	M. M. ii 4 Cymb. iii. 2.
Fines	„ 632	Cor. iii. 3, &c.
Fine and Recovery	„ 492, 494	
Forfeiture	„ 329, 341, &c.	Mer. Wiv. iv. 1.
Frank Fee	„ 432	Cor. iii. 1.
Freemen	vi. 250	Jul. Cæs. v. 3.
Gaol Delivery	vii. 472	Cymb. i. 2.
Grants	„ 509—12	Hen. V. ii. 4, v. 2.
Haught Justice	„ 741	M. M. ii. 2, &c.
Top of Judgment, &c.		Hen. VIII. i. 2
Heirs and Inheritance	„ 328, &c.	(180 times)
Homicides	„ 463, &c.	1 Hen. VI. i. 2, &c.
Hue and Cry	„ 753	Mer. Wiv. 5
Ifs and Ands	vi. 151	
Impeachment	vii. 540	Tw. G. Ver. i. 3, &c.
Impression (Seal)	„	Ham. v. 2.
Imprimendum Solum		Tam. Sh. iv. 4.
Imprimis		„ 1.
In Capite	„ 537, 547	
Incertainty	„ 339	Hen. V. i. 2.
Incidents—Incident to	„ 604	W. T. iv. 3.
Incorporate		Hen. V. v. 2.
Indentures	„ 361	John ii. 1. &c.
Indictment		2 Hen. IV. ii. 4.
Infer, I	„ 588, &c.	Hen. V. i. 2, &c.
Inferences	„ 600	Oth. iii. 1.
Ingrossing	vi. 410	Ant. Cl. iii. 7.
Inheritance	vii. 328	2 Hen. VI. iv. 10.
Injunctions	„ 762—3	M. M. iv. 3.
Intent, Malicious	„ 364—5	Oth. i. 2, &c.
Interrogatories	„ 770	John iii. 1. A. W. iv 3.
Interpretations at Law	„ 333, 342	1 Hen. IV. v. 2 &c.
Intestate	vi. 602	R. III iv. 4.
Jointure	vii. 432	Mer. Wiv. iii. 4.
Judges, Judgments	vi. 506—512 vii. 503, &c.	„ iv. 1, &c.
Jurors	„ 150	Hen. VIII. v. 2. &c.
Jury		„ iii. 2, &c.
Justice of the Peace	„ 469	Mer. Wiv. i. 1, &c.

	Speeding Works.	Shakespeare.
Knight's Service	,, 781 ...	Hen. V. i. 1, &c.
Law, its Powers and Administration	,, 336—463, 504, &c.	Upwards of 150 times
Law Days Kept	,, 467 ...	Oth. iii. 3.
Law Salique	,, 151 ..	Hen. V. i. 2.
,, Sleeping	...	M. M. i. 3. ii. 3.
,, Obsolete	...	W. T. iii. 3.
Leases	,, 632 ...	Tam. Sh. ii. 1, &c.
Legacies	,, 504 ...	Jul. Cæs. iv. 1.
Libels	vi. 407, &c. ...	R. III. i. 1.
Livery, to Sue Out	vii. 482 ...	1 Hen. IV. iv. 3.
Long Robe, Gent of	vi. 223 ...	Lear iii. 6.
Manors	vii. 483—485 ...	R. II. iv. 1, &c.
Manslaughter	,, 463—4 ...	Tim. Ath. iii. 5.
Military Service	vi. 223 ...	
Military Tenure in Chivalry ...	vii. 547 ...	Alls W. ii. 3.
Misdemeanours	,, 587 .	Tw. N. ii. 3.
Monopolies	vi. 462 ...	Lear i. 4.
Murder, Appeal of	vii. 360 ...	
Navigation	vi. 95 ...	
Night Walkers—Brawlers ...	vii. 465 ...	Oth. ii. 3. / R III. i. 1.
(Oath Breaking. See Perjury)		...
Pallatine, County	,, 598 ...	Mer. V. i. 1.
Parricides	,, 357, 737 ...	Macb. iii. 1.
Patent, Letters	,, 683 ..	R. II. ii. 1.
Patents	...	Alls Well. iv. 556
Peace, Breaking the	,, 465 ...	1 Hen. VI. i. 3.
,, Keeping the	,, 46 ...	Much Ado
Penal Laws—Penalties ...	vi. 507, 583 ...	Mer. Ven. iv. 1.
Perjury—Punishable; odious to God and Man ...	vii. ...	R. III. i. 4. / L L.L. iv. 3. / ,, v. 2.
Perpetuity, In	,, ...	1 Hen VI ; Lear i. 1.
Person—The word excludes all Alliances ...	,, 356 ..	
Petty Ward	...	Mer. Wives iii. 1.
Pillory	,, ...	Tw. G. Ver. iv. 4, &c.
Pleas, Pleading	,, 331 ...	M. N. D. iii. 2.
Prœmunire	,, 741, 2 ...	Hen. VIII. iii. 2.
Precendents	,, 510 ...	Mer. Ven. iv. 1.
Precincts	,, ...	1 Hen. VI. iii. 1.
Prerogative, King's	vi. 239 ...	,, ii. 1.
Pressed to Death	vii. 472 ...	M. Ado iii. 1. / R. II. iii. 4.
Primogenitive	...	Tr. Cr. i. 3.
Princes' Secrets	Ess. xv. ...	Alls W. iii. 1.
Princes are Vice Dei	,, xix. ...	K. John. ii. 1.
Privileged Persons	vii. 345 ...	1 Hen. VI. v. 4, &c.
Privelegium ad imprimendum	...	Tam. Sh iv. 4.
Privelegio, Cum	...	Alls W. iv. 5, 91.
Procurator	...	2 Hen. VI. i. 2.
Progenitor	...	Hen. V. i. 2.
Proofs, Proving...	,, 608, &c. ...	Upwards of 400 times

	Speeding Works.		Shakespeare
Property of Blood	,, 478—480	...	Lear i. 1.
Prosecution	,, 762, &c.	...	Ant. Cl. iv. 2.
Provisoes	,, 432, &c.	...	1 Hen. IV. 1, 3.
Purchase	,, 489	...	Ant. Cl. i 4.
Quillet	.. 490	.	Ham. v. 1.
Recognisance	,, 489	..	Oth. v. 2. Ham. v. 1
Record		...	2 Hen. VI. iv. 7. Mer. Ven. iv 1.
,, fine in	,, 488	...	M. M. ii. 2.
Recovery	,, 492—4	...	Ham. v. 1.
Rectories in Fee		...	Alls W ii. 3.
Registers	,, 764	...	Tr. Cr. iii. 3, &c.
Reliefs	,, 432	...	Oth. iii. 3.
Remitter	,, 350—352	...	M. M. v. 1.
Rents	,, 334 –7	...	R. II. iv. 1.
Replication	,, 768	...	L.L.L. iv. 2.
Retainers	vi. 224	...	Hen. VIII. ii. 4.
Revenues	,, 61 vii. 61	... ...	Cymb. ii. 3. R. II. i. 4, &c.
Reversions	,, 354, 358, 378		,, i. 4, ii. 2.
Revocation	,. 369, 372	...	3 Hen. VI. ii. 6.
Sale of Property	.. 498	...	2 Hen. VI. i. 3.
Sanctuary	vi. 61, 196	...	R. III. ii. 4.
,, Men	,, ,,	...	,, iii. 1.
Scolds		...	K. John ii. 1.
Scope of Justice		...	M. M. v. 1.
Seized (excludes Chattels) ...	vii. 424	...	,, ii. 1. As Y. L. iii. 1.
Seizure	,, 325	...	,,
Sessions	,, 820	...	Lear v. 3.
Sequestration	,, 763—4	...	Oth. i. 3.
Sheltering a Traitor		...	R. III. iii. 5.
Sheriffs	,. 346	...	1 Hen. IV. ii. 3.
Slander, Action for		...	M. M. ii 1.
Socage, or Tenure in Chivalry	vii. 483	...	Alls W. ii. 2.
Star Chamber Matters ...	vi. 85 vii. 379	... ...	Mer. Wives i. 1.
Statutes	,, 509, &c.	...	Com. Er. v. 1, &c.
Stocks		...	T. G. V. iii. 1.
Strays Impounded		...	Hen. V. i. 2. 2 Hen. VI. iv. 10.
Suborners		...	2 Hen. VI. iii. 1.
Subsidies	vi. 88, 224	...	3 Hen. VI iv. 8.
Suits Made or Granted ...	vii. 764	...	(120 times)
Surgeons Punished	,, 348	...	Alls W. ii. 2.
Tenants	,, 352	...	R. III. iv. 4.
Tenements	,, 356	...	Hen. VIII. iii. 2.
Tenures	,, 482	...	Ham. v. 1.
Testament		...	As. Y. L. i. 1.
Testator	,. 504	...	
Tithes	vii. 531	...	Rom. Jul. i. 4.
Titles	,. 329	...	3 Hen. VI. i. 1.
Toll an Entry		...	K. John iii. 1.
Treason and Traitors	,, 470, 486	...	(250 times)

	Speeding Work.	Shakespeare.
Vagabonds	„ 469 ...	Rich. II. ii. 3.
Value, Legal	„ 565 ...	Tim. Ath. i. 1.
Verbatim	„ 597 ...	1 Hen. VI. iii. 1.
Verdicts	„ 341 ...	
Verges	„ 466 ...	*Name*, M.A. iii. 5.
Vulgar, Called in the ...	... „ 607—8 ...	L.L.L i. 2, iv. 1 Let.
Ward in Knt. Service	... „ ...	Alls W. ii. 3.
Warranties	... „ 420 ...	Mer. W. i. 1. Oth. v. 2
Whipping	... „ 473 ...	Per. ii. 1.
Will in Writing	... ... „ 496 ...	R. II. iii. 2.
Witchcraft	„ 738 ...	Oth. i. 3, R. III. i. 3 / 1 Hen. VI. i. 5, v. 3.
Words, Idle	„ 587 ...	Tam. Sh. 2 Ind.
Wrecks, Property by ...	... „ 356, 501 ...	1 Hen. V. i. 2. / Com. Er. v. 1.

Quill-driver.

"INSOLENT GREECE AND HAUGHTY ROME."

[Compared by Francis Bacon with the New Philosophy.]

BEN JONSON'S eulogium of *Shakespeare* has been so much commented upon, and his opinion and authority so highly valued by Shakespearean authorities, that we desire also to have a few words on the subject.

It seems hardly yet to be realized by the general reader, that Jonson, who is said to have been one of Bacon's "able pens," amanuensis, and translator, if nothing more, eulogised his "Master, *Dominus Verulamius*, in the very same words which he used in praise of his "Beloved Master William *Shakespeare*, and what he hath left us," the eulogy, in the latter case, applying obviously rather to the works than to the man.

Of *Shakespeare* it is said:—

> "Leave thee alone for *the comparison*
> Of all that insolent Greece and haughty Rome
> Sent forth, or since did from their ashes come." *

Of Bacon (after enumerating the poets and writers who were "for their times, admirable. . . . great masters in wit and language, and in whom all vigour of invention met" †) Ben Jonson thus speaks:—

"... Lord Egerton the Chancellor, a grave and great orator,

* *Underwoods*, xii. † From this list *Shakespeare* is omitted.

and best when he was provoked. But his learned and able, though unfortunate, successor is he who *hath filled up all numbers, and performed that in our tongue which may be compared or preferred either to insolent Greece, or haughty Rome.* In short, within his view, and about his times, were all wits born, that could honour a language, or help study. Now things daily fail, wits grow downward, and eloquence grows backward, so that he may be named, and stand as the mark and symbol of our language."

It is generally imagined that this comparison between the writings of modern times (in other words between the writings of Bacon) and those of Greece and Rome, was instituted by Ben Jonson, and that he was so short of words that he was forced to make the same form do duty for two different authors. But we may be sure that all this is an error.

Bacon seems from earliest youth to have had before him the thought that if only the knowledge and experience which had been accumulated in past times could be made easily accessible, and augmented by his "new-found methods" of experimental researches into natural philosophy, modern ages would show a vast superiority over the pupil age of antiquity. He had to be very careful not to rouse the hostility of the school men, and pedants of his day, by seeming to disparage the learning of the ancients, but, nevertheless, he ever stuck to his point, and insisted that modern times were capable of doing more and better than they did. It is curious, though painful, to see this great mind forced to manœuvre with the silly, ignorant, people amongst whom he lived and moved, in order, as it were, to obtain permission to work for their benefit. See how he strokes and coaxes the conceited pedants who represented literary opinion or authority in the time of James I.

"If I should profess that I, *going the same way as the ancients, have something better to produce*, there must needs be some comparison or rivalry between us (not to be avoided by any art of words) in respect of excellency or ability of wit. . . As it is, however, my object being to open a new way for the understanding, a way by them untried and unknown—the case is altered; party zeal and emulation are at an end, and I appear merely as a guide to point out the road." *

* Nov. Org. Pref.

He wishes to disarm their opposition, and to salve their vanity, if perchance it should be wounded by the suggestion that they did not know everything. And yet he returns to the charge:—

"It is idle to expect any great advancement in science from the superinducing and grafting of new things upon old. We must begin anew from the very foundations, unless we would revolve for ever in a circle, with mean and contemptible progress.

"The *honour of the ancient authors*, and indeed of all, remains untouched; since *the comparison I challenge* is not of wits and faculties, but of ways and methods, and the part I take upon myself is not that of a judge, but of a guide." *

"The *Idols of the Theatre*. . . . are received into the mind from the play-books of philosophical systems, and the perverted rules of demonstration. . . . Since we agree neither upon principles nor upon demonstrations, there is no place for argument. And this is so far well, inasmuch as it leaves the honour of the ancients untouched. For they are no wise disparaged—the question between them and me being only as to the right road.

"*Idols of the Theatre*, or of systems, are many . . . and were it not that now for many ages men's minds have been busied with religion and theology . . doubtless there would have arisen many other philosophical sects like to those which in great variety flourished once among the Greeks." †

Again he says:—"The sciences which we possess, come for the most part *from the Greeks. For what has been added by Roman*, Arabic, or later writers is not *much, or of much importance;* and whatever it is, it is built on the foundation of Greek discoveries. *Now the wisdom of the Greeks was professorial, and much given to disputations; a kind of wisdom most adverse to the inquisition of truth.* . . . Nor can we omit that judgment, or rather, divination which was given concerning the Greeks by the Egyptian priest—that "they were always boys, without antiquity of knowledge, or knowledge of antiquity." ‡

Only three revolutions or periods of learning can be properly reckoned; *one among the Greeks, the second among the Romans, and the last among us*, that is to say the nations of Western Europe. . .

* Nov., Org. i. 31, 32. † *Ib.* lxi., lxii. ‡ Nov. Org. i. 71.

The intervening ages of the world, in respect of any rich or flourishing growth of the sciences were unprosperous. . . In the age before (Christianity) during the continuance of the second period among the Romans . . . the greatest wits applied themselves very generally to public affairs. . . Again the age in which natural philosophy was seen to flourish most amongst the Greeks, was but a brief particle of time . . and in later times when Socrates had drawn down philosophy from heaven to earth *(as Bacon was now trying to do)* "moral philosophy became more fashionable than ever, and diverted the minds of men from the philosophy of nature." *

"It may be thought a strange and harsh thing that we should at once, and with one blow, set aside all sciences and all authors; and that too, without calling in any of the ancients to our aid and support, but relying on our own strength. And I know that if I had chosen to deal less sincerely I might easily have found authority for my suggestions, by referring them either to the old times before the Greeks . . . or even in some part at least, to the Greeks themselves. . . . But for my part, relying on the evidence and truth of things, I reject all forms of fiction and imposture; nor do I think that it matters any more to the business in hand whether the discoveries that shall now be made, were long ago known to the ancients . . . than it matters to mankind whether the new world be that island of Atlantis with which the ancients were acquainted, or now discovered for the first time." †

Elsewhere he explains his plans for "enriching languages" (*note, not the English language only*) "by mutual exchanges so that the several beauties of each may be combined (as in the Venus of Apellas) into a most beautiful image of speech." And he asks, "How came it that the Greeks used such liberty in composition of words, the Romans on the contrary were so strict and sparing in it? One may plainly collect from this that the Greeks were fitter for arts; the Romans for business. For the distinctions of arts are hardly expressed without composition of words; whereas for the transaction of business, simpler words are wanted."

In the *composition of words* drawn from other languages, he would

* Nov. Org. i. 79. † *Ib.* 122.

enrich modern tongues and make them superior for the expression of art, poetry, and beautiful speech of all kinds.

Finally, in concluding his eighth book of the *Advancement of Learning*, Bacon looks back into those things which he has passed through, and "cannot but be raised to this hope that this third period (*of revival of learning*) *will far surpass the Greek and Roman in learning.*" If only men will wisely and honestly know their own strength and their own weakness, and take from one another the light of invention, and not the fire of contradiction.*

Now it is plain that throughout these scattered passages Bacon is endeavouring to instil a new and unpalatable idea. He is indeed trying to carry out the intention recorded in his private common-place book, or *Commentarius Solutus*, to make the ancients "bow their proud tops to the nobility" of the new philosophy. Here are some of his entries to this effect, dated July 26, 1608. He seems to be about to lecture or discourse to his sons of science, and this is the drift of what he will tell them:—

"Ordinary discourse of *plus ultra* in sciences, as well the intellectual globe as the material; illustrated by discovery in our age."

"Discoursing scornfully of the philosophy of the Grecians, with some better respect to the Egyptians, Persians, Caldees, and the utmost antiquity, and the mysteries of the poets."

"Comparing the case with that which Livy sayeth of Alexander, *Nil alim quam bene ausus vana contemnere.*"

"Qu(ery) of an oration *ad filios*; delightful, sublime, and mixed with elegancy, affection, novelty of conceit, and yet sensible; and superstition."

"To consider what opinions are fit to nourish *tanquam ansæ*, and so to grift (*graft*) the new upon the old, ut religiones solent."

This must have been an interesting discourse, for it was to be "sublime, and mixed with novelty, delightful" to the "sons" whom Bacon was preparing to address. Say then, how was it that this very same *novel* doctrine of the superiority of modern over ancient learning, should be asserted or assumed in many books (chiefly poetry) before the publication of the *Novum Organum*, 1620, and in a few

* *De Aug.*, viii.

books before the date of Bacon's entry in his note-book, July, 1608?

The principle, *in general* or as a whole, is not enunciated excepting by the voice of Bacon himself, but in detail or *in particular*, the principle is instilled or "insinuated" in some treatise on almost every branch of knowledge, or in the life or description of its exponent. Here are a few instances, taken from a note-book as they were jotted down:—

Dr. John Dee.—In the preface mathematical to the English Euclid, published by Sir H. Billingsley Knight, he says (1570) that the book contains "many *more arts invented* by name, definition, property, and use, *than either the Grecian or Roman mathematicians* have left to our knowledge."

Franciscus Junius, 1589—1677.—"There is *little either in the works of the Greeks or Romans* which has escaped this author touching painting and the ancient painters" (*Bayle*).

Ben Jonson.—See verses to him by Richard Bridecake.

> "Pindar and Plantus with their double quire
> Have well translated, Ben, the English lyre.
> *What sweets were in the Greek or Latin known*
> A natural metaphor has made thine own. . . .
> That ages hence critics shall question make
> Whether the Greeks or Romans English spake."

Of "the Alchemist," also, James Shirley thus writes:—

> "The Alchemist, a play for strength of wit,
> And *true art, made to shame what hath been writ*
> *In former ages; I except no worth*
> *Of what or Greeke or Latins have brought forth,*" &c.

And thus *Zouch Townley*, also to Ben Jonson:—

> "The world is much in debt, and though it may
> Some pretty reck'ning to small poets pay . . .
> Or understand the faith of *ancient skill*
> *Drawn from the tragic, comic, lyric quill:*
> *The Greek and Roman denizened by thee,*
> *And both made richer in thy poetry;*
> This they may know, and knowing this still grudge
> That yet they are not fit of thee to judge," &c.

Nathaniel Field, in verses to his "worthy and beloved friend Master," says of the poet

"That he writ with such a pen
Whose inspirations, if great Rome had had,
Her good things had been bettered, and her bad
Undone."

Anon. Verses to *Mr. George Sandys*, on his *Paraphrase of the Sacred Hymns:*—

"*Had all the Latin, all the Grecian quire,*
Been still (Pindar, Homer, Virgil, Ennius, Horace, Ovid) . . .
Give us but our psalter, and we'll not be poor."

And of *G. Sandys*, Michael Drayton also writes:—

"*That famous Greece, where learning flourished most,*
Hath of her muses long since left to boast."

Abraham Cowley.—In the "account of the life" with which Dr. Sprat (president of the Royal Society) prefaces the works of Cowley, he says:—"Whoever would do him right, *should not only equal him to the principal ancient writers of our own nation, but should also rank his name amongst the authors of the true antiquity, the best of Greeks and Romans.*"

Even in the address of the *Translators to the Readers*, at the beginning of the Revised Edition of the Bible published in 1611, the same idea is seen. Previous "*Latin translations*," says the writer, "were too many to be all good, for they were infinite. . . Again, they were not out of the Hebrew fountaine . . . *but out of the Greeke stream*, therefore, *the Greeke being not altogether cleare, the Latine derived from it must needs be muddie.*"

These examples are perhaps not a tithe of those which may be produced from *foreign* as well as English sources, during a period of one hundred years from the death of Bacon. How do we account for such a consensus of opinion in days when classical learning stood as the Hercules' pillars the *non plus ultra* of learning? Will our readers be content with the empty answer that these ideas were "in the air," "the fashion of the day," that "men copied from each other," and so forth? We trust not. Let it rather be inquired whether after the first revival of learning (by the printing and publishing of the great writings of Greece and Rome) there did not arise a school of philosophy, whose aim was not merely to revive or to imitate the ancient learning, but to advance and surpass it? And

(if this be shown to be the case) was there not a head or master of that school from whose mind emanated the doctrines taught? And, lastly, was there not a secret society or great band of brethren bound together by fixed rules, possessing a definite scheme and method by which their doctrines should be instilled, at first verbally (by lectures and conferences) and perhaps in manuscripts or secret writings, finally to be openly declared and published?

STUDENT.

THE STAGE-PLAYER IMPOSTOR, AND THE LATEST ROSICRUCIAN HYPOTHESIS.

AS a student of Rosicrucian literature and history, and as one who has always followed with keen interest every attempt to throw light upon the very curious problems which are connected with this Hermetic Brotherhood, I may perhaps be permitted to offer a few observations having reference to an attractive communication addressed to Mrs. Henry Pott by her German correspondent, G. L. R., and published in the May number of BACONIANA. The subject does not seem to be outside the larger issues of the Bacon controversy. The main thesis of that communication is relative to a now well-known passage in the *Confessio Fraternitatis R. C.*, which is supposed to allude to a certain "Stage-player Impostor," and it points out that the context undermines "the hypothesis put forward by Mr. Wigston and Mrs. Henry Pott," identifying the "Stage-player" with William Shakspere. It shows that the reference is solely to the fraudulent literature of Alchemy, abounding in unintelligible hieroglyphics and in "monstrous figures," and that the term "Stage-player" is only figuratively and contemptuously applied to some unnamed pseudo-alchemist, whose typological pretensions were peculiarly offensive to the authors of this Rosicrucian manifesto. Now, it is worthy of notice that the *Fama Fraternitatis R. C.*, which preceded the document in question, and is the first indisputable Rosicrucian publication (the *Communis et Generalis Reformatio totius Mundi* being of doubtful character), appeared originally in German, but the

Confessio originally in Latin. They were afterwards—that is to say, later on, in the year 1615—issued together, both in the Dutch language,* and from this version, which claims to be revised and amended, the reference to the "Stage-player" is omitted. It reappears, however, in a German edition of 1617. These variations have in themselves significance, for the Dutch corrected issue should be of equal authority as the Latin of the same year, which it may have followed after a very brief interval. However this may be, after a careful examination of the evidence, I find myself unable to agree with the hypothesis that the "Stage-player" (*Amphitheatralem histrionem*) can be an allusion to Heinrich Khunrath, the author of the *Amphitheatrum Sapientiæ Æternæ*, and for these reasons. Khunrath died in obscurity and poverty on the 9th of September, 1601, fourteen years before the promulgation of the *Confessio*. The *Amphitheatrum* was left unfinished, and was published some years after his death, with a preface and conclusion by his friend Erasmus Wohlfhart. The only edition which I have seen is that of Hanover, 1609, folio, though the catalogue of Langlet du Fresnoy registers an earlier impression, Magdeburg, 1608. A considerable number of years was, in either case, destined to elapse before the appearance of the *Confessio Fraternitatis R. C.* Why should Khunrath have been singled out as a special subject of Rosicrucian opprobrium? He had been long dead—dead before Rosicrucian manifestoes had ever been heard or thought of;† he made little impression on his period; he was not responsible for the publication of the *Amphitheatrum*, which, as we have seen, was a posthumous fragment; his works are strongly tinged with the highest species of religious philosophy; the *Amphitheatrum*, in particular, is full of perfervid devotional mysticism; and seeing that the Rosicrucians were a religious body professing the Hermetic tradition, it was more likely to commend itself to their favour than to excite their hostility. In a word, the sole reason for selecting

* This edition, which was published at Frankfort, claiming to be translated from high Dutch—*i.e.*, from German, is the earliest I have seen. the Latin *Confessio* excepted.

† It should be noticed in this connection that the *Ætas Nostra* of the Latin *Confessio* is rendered in the German version of 1617 by the words, "this time," and there can be little doubt that the reference was to things as they were at the moment, and not to past impostures.

Khunrath seems to be that he wrote a work entitled *Amphitheatrum*, and that, in common with innumerable alchemical books of that prolific period, it contained symbols. Moreover, a Lutheran Society, which the Rosicrucians professedly were, would have honoured a Lutheran adept, as Khunrath undoubtedly was, rather than have reviled his memory.

There is, however, a more important point to be noticed in the communication of G. L. R. As the appended editorial note very justly observes, the author assumes the Rosicrucian manifestoes to have been the work of Dr. John Dee. I was led to examine this theory in the year 1891 by the request of the editor of a well-known English Encyclopædia, for which I was writing on the subject of the mysterious fraternity. The evidence in its favour is centred exclusively in a manuscript preserved in the British Museum, which claims to be the work of Dr. Dee, and has been included by some of his biographers in the catalogue of his unpublished writings. This manuscript is devoted to the elucidation of Rosicrucian doctrines and secrets, and seeing that Dr. Dee died in 1608, he would be, therefore, the first person who alluded to the mystery and made use of the term Rosicrucian, from which it is inferred that he may have been the actual founder of the fraternity. It is undoubtedly an attractive hypothesis. Everyone who has studied the Rosicrucian problem desires its solution, and is aware, at the same time, that few tolerable constructions have been put upon it; but so far as this explanation is concerned, the student must still wait for his enlightenment. It is, unfortunately, another instance of theorising on the authority of uncritical bibliographies. The slightest examination of the manuscript would show that it is, at least, not an autograph, for the floriated title contains in a scroll the date March 12, 1703. Further, it is not a transcript of an original that has been lost, but it has required a somewhat wide acquaintance with Rosicrucian and alchemical literature to absolutely prove this point. The evidence I shall adduce is as follows. The manuscript consists of 501 folios, and belongs to the Harleian collection in which it is numbered 6485. It is beautifully written, but in a hand which could deceive no one, independently of the date which I have cited. It is illustrated with a few alchemical symbols, and is divided

into three parts. The first is alchemical and medical, and is a slightly adapted version of John Heydon's "Elharvareuna, or Rosicrucian Medicines of Metals," published in 1665. The second is an explanation of certain words hard to be understood in the works of Dr. Dee, and proves to be another imposition, for the words in question are not found in the extant writings of that philosopher, and is apparently an abridgment of prior alchemical dictionaries. The third part is equally fraudulent; it contains a methodical apology for the Rosicrucian doctrines, and is, in fact, an adapted translation of Michael Maier's *Themis Aurea*, which appeared in 1618.

The whole forms certainly a curious forgery. Its contents are calculated to deceive anyone but a specialist, for, as will be seen, they are derived from sufficiently recondite sources. Why in the eighteenth century an unknown person should have abridged John Heydon, translated Michael Maier, compiled an imaginary vocabulary, and then fathered the whole upon Dr. John Dee, it is impossible to conjecture, but such are the facts, and it is a fact also that this same manuscript represents John Frederick Helvetius addressing an account of the transmutation he performed at the Hague in the year 1667 to the mathematical philosopher of Mortlake, who died in 1608!

Outside the now exploded claim of this extraordinary imposture, there is no reason for connecting Dr. Dee, either remotely or approximately, with the Rosicrucians. But had the evidence been otherwise, and could it be definitely proved that he was responsible for the *Confessio Fraternitatis*, I should regard it as still more improbable that the reference to the "Stage-player" was intended for Heinrich Khunrath. That the author of *Monas Hieroglyphica* should take exception to the *Amphitheatrum Sapientiæ* because of its "monstrous figures" appears to me beyond probability.

I should like, in conclusion, to express my sincere hope that my criticisms will be accepted by G. L. R. in the spirit which has dictated them. Remote from the Harleian collection, he has not had my own opportunities for examining the Dee manuscript, or he would doubtless have forestalled my discoveries.

ARTHUR EDWARD WAITE.

HONORIFICABILITUDINITATIBUS.

IN your last issue, your correspondent, R. M. T., under the heading, "Bacon in the Middle Temple," refers to Mr. Thorpe's new book entitled, "Still Life in the Middle Temple," and quotes Mr. Thorpe's reference to the above long Latin word which Mr. Thorpe correctly states makes the anagram "But thus I told Franiiiiii Bacon." R. M. T. seems to have fallen into a strange state of confusion about the long Latin word, which certainly does make the said anagram, as may be readily seen below—

H O N O R I F I C A B I L I T U D I N I T A T I B U S
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27

11 16 15 21 1 26 27 6 23 2 13 17 7 5 10 3 8 12 14 18 20 24 25 22 9 4 19
B U T T H U S I T O L D F R A N I I I I I I I B A C O N

In a cypher or an anagram I should expect to find Francis spelled Franiiiiii "Fran-six" pronounced Fran-sis, that is "Francis." The long Latin word is found in "Love's Labour's Lost," near the beginning of the fifth act, called falsely, "Actus Quartus," in the first folio where it appears on page 136. Among a number of covert references to Bacon and St. Albans, which I am not at liberty here to specify, as they have, I think, not yet been published. The long Latin word also occurs upon that well-known COVER,* which wrapped together MSS. of Bacon, including his essays, and certain MSS. of plays of Shakespeare, being the only place in the world in which it can positively be asserted that any MSS. of a Shakespeare play ever existed. Spedding has published a photo fac-simile of this COVER, and a full description of it showing that an addition to the list of works of which it formed the "Cover," it is scrawled over with "William Shakespeare," "Francis Bacon," seven or eight times repeated. And that also upon it appears the proverb, "Revealing light through every cranie peepes," while at another part of the page is found nearly the whole of the long Latin word in question. It seems, therefore, particularly appropriate that the long Latin word should enshrine the anagram. "But thus I told Franiiiiii Bacon." The long Latin word will also make the anagram below, viz. :—

* This cover still containing many of the MSS. (but not those of the so-called Shakespeare plays) was found at Northumberland House.

7 10 6 5 16 8 27 12 2 3 1 22 9 4 19
FAIR UISION BACON

25 26 14 13 15 18 21 1 20 17 24 23
BUILT IT HID IT

I, however, prefer the previous anagram which, I think, was very probably intended to be concealed in the word—"HONORIFICABILITUDINITATIBUS." E. L.

DEATH OF ANTHONY BACON.

J. NICHOL, in his "Life of Francis Bacon," gives the date of Anthony Bacon's death as May, 1601, and gives reference to Spedding (vol. iii., p. 5—15) for further particulars.

In the "Biographia Britannica" it is stated that "in all probability the death of the Earl of Essex affected him (Anthony) very deeply, since his own followed within less than a year." The execution of the Earl of Essex took place in 1601. It may be noted that the first edition of Bacon's Essays (1597) is dedicated to Anthony Bacon; in the dedication of the second edition (1612). Bacon says, "My last essays I dedicated to my dear brother Anthony, who is with God."

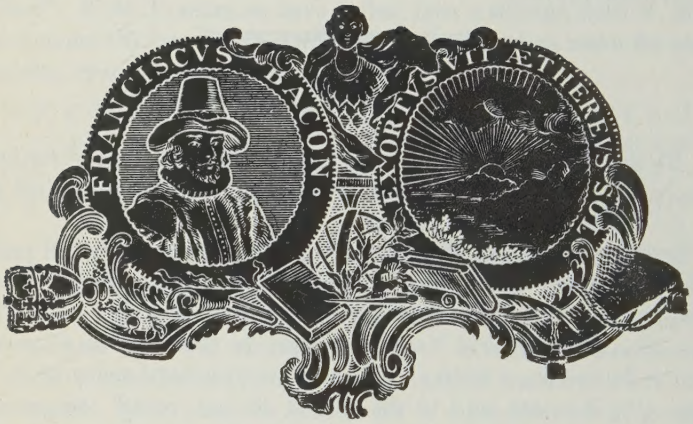
The place of Anthony's burial, according to the "Biographia Britannica," is not known, and a suggestion is made that Francis Bacon was waiting until it should be possible to express in the inscription Anthony's devotion to Essex before he erected a monument to his dearly-loved brother.

A. B.

NOTICE.

WE regret that space at this time does not admit of a continuation of the Notes on Portraits; but we hope to resume the subject in the following number.

Many inquiries have also to be omitted. Answers will be sent by letter as soon as possible.



This symbolic design, being printed from the cover of a book, of course reverses the lights and shades. It is, however, sufficient to show the intention of the artist—namely, to identify Francis Bacon with the Revival of Learning.